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ABSTRACT

The professional climate often experienced by women faculty and administrators is reported, along with some consideration to the experiences of graduate and professional students. Attention is focused on subtle ways in which women are treated differently and common behaviors that create a chilly professional climate. The information was obtained from a literature review, campus commission reports, and a numerous anecdotes reported during campus visits and in response to a call for information in the newsletter "On Campus With Women." Included are suggestions for change, a college self-evaluation checklist, suggestions for a campus workshop, and a list of resources. Descriptions of academic women's experiences are based on actual incidents that occurred within the last few years. Concerns include: the small number of academic women, the confusion of social and professional roles, devaluation of women, collegiality, sexuality and attractiveness, sexual harassment, humor/jokes, men and women's communication styles, minority women, and women in traditionally male fields. Almost 100 suggestions for change include the following topics: policy; search, promotion, and tenure committees; special groups of women; and professional development programs. (SW)

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THE CAMPUS CLIMATE REVISITED:

CHILLY FOR WOMEN FACULTY, ADMINISTRATORS, AND GRADUATE STUDENTS

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A publication of the Project on the Status and Education of Women
Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

October 1986

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The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students

Table of Contents

Introduction 1
The Chilly Climate for Women on Campus 2
The Problem of Numbers 3
The Confusion of Social and Professional Roles: "That's No Lady, That's My Dean" 4
Devaluation: Woman's Worth In a Man's World 6
Collegiality: Can a Woman Be "One of the Boys"? 7
Attractiveness and Sexuality 9
Sexual Harassment 9
Humor: Why Can't a Woman Take a Joke Like a Man? 10
Other Forms of Chilly Behaviors and Practices 10
Men's and Women's Communication Styles: Another Double-Bind 11
Minority Women on Campus—"An Endangered Species" 12
Women in Administration: Colder at the Top 13
Women Faculty 15
Graduate and Professional Students 16
Women in Traditionally Male Fields 16
Conclusion 17
Recommendations 17
Planning a Campus Program or Workshop on the Professional Climate for Women 21
Brief Institutional Self-Evaluation Checklist 23
Selected List of Resources 24

Introduction

This report explores the chilly professional climate often experienced by women as faculty and administrators, and as graduate and professional students. It focuses on subtle ways in which women are treated differently—ways that communicate to women that they are not quite first-class citizens in the academic community. Building on the Project's earlier reports on climate issues for students, this report is based on an examination of the literature, numerous campus commission reports, and a large number of anecdotes reported to staff during campus visits and in response to a call for information in our newsletter. The report discusses common behaviors that create a chilly professional climate and includes numerous specific recommendations for change, an institutional self-evaluation checklist, suggestions for a campus workshop, and a list of resources.

Many people—men and women alike—believe that campus discrimination against women has ended. They see the abolition of most overtly discriminatory policies, as well as an increasing number of women in graduate school and as faculty—albeit at the lower levels. They see women treated pleasantly by men, and perhaps they see one or two highly-placed women administrators. Thus, it is easy for many to assume that discriminatory treatment is no longer a significant problem for women in higher education.

Certainly over the last fifteen years, the number of women students, faculty, and administrators has increased. Numerous anti-discrimination laws have been passed, and many policies and practices that once limited women's access to academe have been eliminated. Yet, despite many improvements, some

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things have not changed at all:*

- Women are still concentrated in a limited number of fields and at lower levels. Indeed, the pattern for women faculty and administrators has not changed for many years:[1]
  - ▸ The higher the rank, the fewer the women.
  - ▸ The more prestigious the school or department, the fewer the women.
  - ▸ At every rank, in every field, at every type of institution, women still earn less than their male counterparts.[2]
  - ▸ Women have been less likely to receive tenure than men. 47 percent of women faculty are tenured, compared to 69 percent of the men.[3]
  - ▸ The rate of increase for tenured male faculty has been greater than that of women. Between 1972 and 1981, the percentage of tenured male faculty increased by 17.7 percent; the percentage of tenured female faculty increased by 13.4 percent.
- It is uncommon for women to be department chairs, and rarer still for them to be academic deans.
- For the most part, women administrators remain concentrated in a small number of low-status areas that are traditionally viewed as women's fields (such as nursing and home economics) or in care-taking roles (such as in student affairs and affirmative action) or in other academic support roles (such as admissions officer, registrar or bookstore manager). Women who are in more central administrative areas frequently find themselves locked into "associate" or "assistant-to" positions with little chance of advancing upward.
- The hiring and promotion of women faculty and administrators has lagged far behind the enrollment of women students, who now constitute the majority of undergraduates and an increasing proportion of graduate and professional students.
- Although women earn approximately half of the degrees at the undergraduate and master's level, they earn only 32 percent of the doctorate degrees.[4]

These problems are often intensified for faculty, administrators, and graduate students who are also members of minority groups. Compared with white women on one hand, and minority men on the other, "minority women are the least well represented group among tenured academics,"[5] and are often *not* retained or tenured as faculty or administrators.[6]

Clearly, the challenge of truly integrating women into academic life has not been surmounted by the passage of laws and the ending of many overtly discriminatory policies. Numerous reasons have been used to explain this slow progress: "Institutions are facing a budget crunch; it's hard for anyone—male or female—to be hired"; or "it's going to take time for the women in the pipeline to move up." The underlying assumption is that discrimination or other differential treatment of women is no longer a problem. Yet men and women working in the same institution, teaching or studying in the same department, often have very different experiences from one another.

The Chilly Climate for Women on Campus

Although the door to academe is now open and many obvious barriers have fallen, a host of subtle personal and social barriers still remain. These are barriers that laws alone cannot remedy; often they are part and parcel of our usual ways of relating to each other as men and women, and are so "normal" that they may not even be noticed. However, they not only hamper women students' education, they also limit women faculty[7] and administrators' productivity and advancement, and prevent institutions from being the best that they can be. What follows is an attempt to identify some of the ways in which women administrators, faculty, and graduate students face a chillier professional climate than their male colleagues.

Most faculty and administrators want to treat their colleagues fairly, yet many—women as well as men—often treat women colleagues differently from men. Even those most concerned about equity may inadvertently treat women in ways that convey a powerful subtle or not so subtle message to women—and to men—that somehow women are not as serious professionally, or as capable as their male peers, nor are they expected to be forceful leaders, to achieve at the same level or to participate in formal and informal professional activities as fully, as actively, or as successfully.

Often partial acceptance of women on campus may be misread as full acceptance. While policies—and even attitudes—concerning women may be quite favorable, subtle behavior discrimination toward women may abound. Often these behaviors are not seen as discrimination even though they frequently make women feel uncomfortable and put them at a disadvantage. Frequently, neither women nor those who treat them differently are aware of what has occurred; indeed, the possible lack of awareness by both parties is what makes the behavior and its impact so insidious. Certainly, individual white males are not always treated fairly either, but their sex or race is not usually the reason for the difficulties they may experience.

In two studies focused mainly on the learning climate for women undergraduates, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*[8] and *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?*,[9] the Project on the Status and Education of Women identified a multitude of ways in which men and women students are often inadvertently treated differently by faculty, staff, and other students. For example, many professors—men

*Although discrimination may not be the only factor causing these discrepancies it nevertheless cannot be overlooked as playing a major role in the differential status of men and women on the campus.

and women alike—tend to call on male students more often, to make more eye contact with male students, and so on. By giving men the greater share of classroom attention, faculty unknowingly create a climate that subtly interferes with the development of women's self-confidence, academic participation, and career goals.

Many of the behaviors identified in those reports are not limited to the classroom, but can also occur wherever women are on campus. Not *all* of these behaviors occur *all* of the time. However, our findings indicate that they are not uncommon and that many, if not most, women experience them.

Often, the behaviors themselves are small, and individually might even be termed "trivial" or minor annoyances, but when they happen again and again, they can have a major cumulative impact because they express underlying limited expectations and a certain discomfort in dealing with women. Moreover, the behaviors happen to women at all levels—undergraduates, graduate students, faculty and administrators.

Readers of the earlier reports will recall some of those behaviors (which are discussed and documented there in greater detail):

- People often are more attentive when men speak and are more likely to recognize male speakers, for example, by nodding and gesturing in response to men's questions and comments.
- Women are more likely to be interrupted than men. Further, when a man is interrupted, the interruption is likely to be one that builds on what he is saying. When a woman is interrupted, the interruption may be unrelated or trivial or destructive, such as "You look beautiful up there. You must have spent hours preparing for this seminar."*
- In discussion groups, people are more likely to respond more extensively to men's comments than to women's.

These and similar small episodes that occur in the course of everyday interchanges have been called "micro-inequities"—behaviors that are often so small that they go unnoticed when they occur.[10] Micro-inequities refer collectively to ways in which individuals are either *singled out*, or *overlooked, ignored*, or *otherwise discounted* on the basis of unchangeable characteristics such as sex, race, or age. Through these behaviors people are treated not as individuals, but rather according to preconceptions about the groups with which they are identified.

Micro-inequities often create a work and learning environment that wastes women's resources, for it takes time and energy to ignore or deal with these behaviors. The chilly climate undermines self-esteem and damages professional morale. It may leave women professionally and socially isolated, restrict their opportunities to make professional contributions, and dampen their participation in collegial and academic activities.

Men are not the only ones who engage in the behaviors described in this paper. Women themselves may sometimes treat other women on the basis of their sex, race, ethnicity, age, physical disability, or sexual preference in ways that create a chilly climate. Minority men, as well as professional women in settings outside academe, also experience many of these behaviors.

This report focuses primarily on women faculty and administrators, and to some degree, graduate students. Specific examples quoted or described are based on actual incidents that have occurred within the last few years. (The reader may find it instructive to read these examples and ask how the incidents would appear if they had happened to men.) Some examples may seem farfetched or crude. However, all were selected because they were typical of a particular type of behavior which was frequently reported.

The report is not meant to be definitive, for we have only scratched the surface of a large problem—a problem with implications that go far beyond the college campus.

The Problem of Numbers

> *Imagine that your lawyer, your doctor, your priest, rabbi, or minister, your Senator and Representative, your mayor, the president of your institution, most of its trustees, almost all of the deans and most of your colleagues were all women. How would you feel?*[11]

> *. . . [W]hen you're the first of your sex or your race in a position, three things apply to you. One—you're placed under a microscope. Two—you're allowed no margin for error. And three—the assumption is always made that you achieved your position on something other than merit.*[12]

> *The responsibilities of being an outsider on the inside are enormous. It often means that I am the only woman in whatever setting I find myself. It means that I am often called upon to be THE WOMAN. I am asked to speak from the Woman's Perspective, as if I knew all women and their views.*[13]

The chilly climate for women cannot be separated from the problem of numbers. Because there are so few academic women—particularly in powerful positions—women face many of the same problems any minority group faces. In a professional setting where men are the vast majority even *a few* women may be seen as *too many*. Indeed, a few highly visible women faculty or administrators on a given campus may lead to the misperception that "women are everywhere." This effect is exacerbated in the case of minority women, and is particularly

*Unattributed descriptions of behavior and comments were reported to Project staff during the development of this report.

problematic because it leads to the mistaken belief that women's advancement in general is solved, that minority women in particular "have it made," and sometimes even to the fear that "women are taking over." One woman president reported being instructed by her board not to hire any women vice presidents lest the institution be perceived as controlled by women. (She was subsequently able to convince them otherwise.)

Small numbers heighten the visibility of women. Their behavior, both professional and social, seems to stand out; thus, they are often subject to greater scrutiny. For example, their absence or presence at a meeting is more likely to be noticed. Often the lone woman, or one of a very few, is seen as a representative of her sex rather than as an individual, whether she raises women's concerns or not. Comments such as "It's nice to have the woman's point of view," even though made with good intent, illustrate this point. In general, the fewer the women, the greater the likelihood that they will be viewed as tokens and in relationship to stereotypes about women rather than as individuals.

Moreover, because the vast majority of women employed on campus are in positions accorded little status (such as secretaries, clerical workers, cafeteria staff) women faculty and administrators stand out even more sharply as *anomalies*. They may often be mistaken for support persons because these are common roles for women, and thus they may receive less respect from others on campus.

As a result of the low ratio of women faculty to women students, faculty women often end up with a disproportionately heavy formal or informal advising load (even when the official number of advisees is the same as that of other faculty) because women students may seek them out or may be steered to them by male faculty. Women faculty are also often expected (and may want) to be a role model and to mentor women students and may be criticized if they do not. Similarly, they may spend more time on committee work because of their concern to ensure representation of women on committees. This is especially true of minority women who are even fewer in number and therefore in greater demand for these activities. Unfortunately, women with extra advising and committee obligations may have less time for their own career needs, particularly research pursuits that bring greater institutional rewards.

> *Women who turn down committee assignments often are viewed as ungrateful and not interested in advancement, whereas a man may be respected for refusing to take time away from his research. When more attractive assignments come along, the woman who refused earlier will no longer be considered. Part of the reason for this negative response to women is that they were wanted on the committee for symbolic purposes and not for their expertise, and another acceptable female will have to be found.*[14]

Add to all of this a lack of structural support for women's concerns on many campuses[15]—such as no women's studies courses, or where they exist, limited academic and monetary support, and disparagement; no women's center or a badly funded one; lack of gynecological services for women students; no supports for those trying to balance a professional career with parenthood, such as adequate maternity and child-rearing leave, child care, and flexible scheduling; continuing legal inequities such as salary discrepancies and sexual harassment—and the climate for women on many campuses feels chilly indeed.

The Confusion of Social and Professional Roles: "That's No Lady, That's My Dean"

> *Women are more likely to receive compliments for their beauty, their skill in managing home and children; men are more likely to be praised for their intellectual endeavors, as in the description of two graduate students: "She's an adorable person." "He's a bright young man."*

> *Where male faculty are concerned [parental status] isn't much of an issue. For women faculty, it's major. If they insist on time for children, they're often seen as less committed, professional, reliable, etc.*[16]

All of us, to a greater or lesser degree, have preconceptions about how we expect and want men and women to behave. We are not surprised when men are powerful, assertive, ambitious, and achieving, but we may be uncomfortable when women exhibit these traits and others that are traditionally thought of as "male" attributes. We "expect" women to be nurturing, passive, accommodating, perhaps not too bright, and so on.[17] Most of us are comfortable dealing with women in terms of our personal and social relationships to them as mothers, sisters, wives, girlfriends, and hostesses, but are uncomfortable when the social expectations do not follow the traditional patterns. We have "rules" telling us how to treat women in social situations. There are, however, few rules as to how to treat them in professional settings where they no longer fit many of the social stereotypes. Consequently, social etiquette, designed primarily to flatter and protect women, is often inappropriately interjected into the professional setting, as in the following examples:[18]

- *Focusing on a woman's appearance and other personal qualities and relationships*, rather than on her accomplishments, by including comments (even complimentary ones) during meetings, in introductions, letters of references[19] and the like, such as:

▸ "I'd like you to meet the lovely new addition to our department."

▸ In a letter of reference: "Mrs. B. . . . manages beautifully, although she has three children."

Such comments emphasize the "feminine" and sometimes the sexual over the professional attributes, and thus downplay a woman's competence. In contrast, men would only rarely be described in such settings in terms of their physical or parental attributes. (See Attractiveness and Sexuality, p. 9 .)

- *Addressing women by social terms such as "sweetie," "dear," "Mrs." or "young lady"*—words which undercut a woman's professional identity—especially if her male colleagues are being addressed as "Dr."
- *Asking women to take care of minor social needs*, such as expecting women, but not men, to write invitations or provide refreshments for department meetings or parties.
- *Using stereotyped words to describe accomplishments or behavior, especially words that are not applied to men:*

▸ "She is charming with her students," rather than "she is an excellent teacher."

▸ "She is difficult. It must be that time of the month."

▸ "She is just an old maid busy-body."

- *Focusing undue attention on women's personal lives*, e.g., whether they are married or single, with whom they live, what their sexual orientation is, with whom they socialize, how they dress, and so on. This kind of scrutiny is not only burdensome in and of itself, but serves to shift attention away from professional performance. One woman reports that a colleague complained to administrators with rumors about her personal life. At a subsequent departmental meeting she was questioned about her relationship with her husband. She states,

> *While others were allowed to conduct their personal and professional lives in private, mine was being regularly scrutinized. I longed for the privacy which all the other members of the groups had bestowed upon each other.*[20]

- *Viewing men and women with identical marital and parental status in very different ways.* For women, the presumption is sometimes made that family responsibilities will automatically interfere with professional activities; for men the presumption is often that marriage and children will make for greater stability and professional success. For example, should a woman leave a meeting early or request a change in meeting time, colleagues may assume that she must attend to children or a household matter, and her request is often resented. When a man does the same, the more common assumption is that he has some important matter to attend to, and that his request is justified. (Moreover, when a man takes on family responsibilities, especially if he is widowed or divorced, he is more often praised for doing so, and there may be far more accommodation to his needs than to women with the same responsibilities.) Additionally, a married female graduate student may be viewed as needing less financial aid than a married male.
- *Presuming that the husband is the primary contributor and lead scholar when spouses collaborate or are in the same field.* Women sometimes find their work described not in terms of its own merits but in comparison to their husband's, and in some cases of joint endeavor, it is assumed that the husband did the conceptualization, writing, and creative work. Even when the work is not collaborative, there may be an assumption that the husband *really* did the work credited to the woman.[21] Even women graduate students married to students in the same department sometimes find that their letters of reference focus on their husbands' achievements rather than their own.[22]
- *Expecting women to behave in typically "feminine" ways*, such as being more nurturing and "motherly" to both students and colleagues, which subjects women to the classic double bind situation, e.g., "Motherly" persons often are not readily viewed as intellectually vigorous, yet if a woman is not nurturing or acts in other less "feminine ways," the response from students and colleagues may be angry or otherwise negative. She may be seen as "hard" or even as "castrating." Similarly, a woman administrator who speaks softly may be seen as weak and lacking in leadership ability. If, however, she is directive and assertive she may be seen as "the iron maiden" and/or "humorless," "unfeminine," or "simply strange."[23] Professional behavior that is viewed as appropriate for men may be seen as "inappropriate" for women. Women themselves may also experience the conflict between how they are expected to behave as women and how they are expected to behave as professionals. These contradictions are apparent in the following.

How To Tell A Male Academic From a Female Academic[24]

He is aggressive. She is pushy.

He's a stern taskmaster. She's hard to work for.

He is good on details. She's picky.

He worked very hard. She slept her way through graduate school.

He loses his temper because he's so involved in his job. She's bitchy.

He gets angry. She is emotional.

He's close-mouthed. She's secretive.

When he's depressed (or hungover), everyone tiptoes past his office. She's moody, so it must be her time of the month.

He exercises authority diligently. She's power mad.

He isn't afraid to say what he thinks. She's mouthy.

He follows through. She doesn't know when to quit.

He drinks because of the excessive job pressure. She's a lush.

He's confident. She's conceited.

He stands firm. She's hard.

He has good judgment. She has women's intuition.

The confusion between the social and the professional is also demonstrated at departmental or institutional social gatherings: male colleagues (including male graduate students) will talk shop together while their wives are expected to talk to one another, leaving women professionals and graduate students betwixt and between.

Many men may be puzzled about what it means to be a professional *and* a woman. Often, men who find it difficult to deal with women in positions of power, or even as peers, may focus on their social or sexual role, however inappropriate. A trustee asked a female dean at their first meeting, "Do you fool around a lot?"

- *When men are annoyed or disagree with a woman for whatever reason, they may suddenly shift their focus to her sexuality or social role:*

. . . [O]ne woman dean . . . complained that some chairmen refuse to take her seriously. When chairs are late in submitting schedules and she calls them into her office, some emphasize her gender and ignore her administrative power: They do things like put their arms around me, smile and say, "You're getting prettier every day" or "You shouldn't worry your pretty little head about these things."[25]

▸ Women may be admonished by angry men with "Look here, *sweetie*," or "Listen to me, *young lady*," or "Don't tell me that, *little girl*."

Whether we ourselves are women or men, and despite our conscious beliefs that men and women can share the full range of human attributes, too often when we deal with men and women in everyday situations the old stereotypes take over.

Devaluation: Woman's Worth In a Man's World

One Board chair in New Jersey was asked why he had not assigned a new woman trustee with a Harvard MBA and fifteen years of experience to the finance committe. He replied, somewhat puzzled, "Why, I never thought of a woman for the finance committee."[26]

If I make any mistakes, people will say it's because that's how women are. If I succeed at something, they say I'm not like the other women.

Women's roles in academe, as elsewhere, are often not only stereotyped but women are also devalued. Numerous studies—many in academic settings—demonstrate how the gender of a person influences perception and evaluation of his or her behavior and achievements.[27] In one study, first done in 1968 and then replicated in 1983, college students were asked to rate identical articles according to specific criteria. The authors' names attached to the articles were clearly male or female, but were reversed for each group of raters: what one group thought had been written by a male, the second group thought had been written by a female, and vice versa. Articles supposedly written by women were consistently ranked lower than when the very same articles were thought to have been written by a male.[28] In a similar study, department chairs were asked to make hypothetical hiring decisions and to assign faculty rank on the basis of vitae. For vitae with male names, chairs recommended the rank of associate professor; however, the identical vita with a female name merited only the rank of assistant professor.[29] These and many other studies show that in academe as in other settings the same professional accomplishments are seen as superior in quality and worthy of higher rewards when attributed to men than when they are attributed to women.[30]

The ascribed reasons for the successes of men and women are also viewed differently. Men's success is typically seen as resulting from *internal* factors such as ability and competence, while women's success is often attributed to *external*, unpredictable, and uncontrollable factors such as happenstance, or that "They had to hire a woman." Women themselves may internalize this pattern, and attribute their success to outside factors such as luck ("being in the right place at the right time").[31] Consequently, women's qualifications and accomplishments are frequently not seen as reliable predictors of future success.

Men are often hired (or accepted as students in graduate school) for their potential while women with the *same* credentials may be seen as "not well qualified." Academe is full of examples in which male professors become deans without having served as department chairs, or assistant or associate deans, or where men from industry or government with little academic experience become presidents. These men are typically highly qualified, but they are nevertheless being judged on their *potential* to learn their new jobs.

The devaluation that women face accounts in part for the perception that women are not serious about their work. Similarly, their work itself may not be taken seriously by others. For a woman, too often the old saw still holds: she has to be twice as good to get half as far.

Examples of how devaluation operates are as follows:

- *Women's accomplishments are sometimes downgraded or trivialized when equal or even superior to those of male peers.*

▸ A man is described as "serving on two departmental committees and even on one institutional committee," while a woman with the identical experience is noted as "serving on two departmental committees but *only* on one institutional committee."[32]

▸ A woman dean with two years experience is seen as "moving too fast," whereas a man with comparable experience is seen as being appropriately "on the fast track."[33]

▸ A man with two articles in press might be seen as "showing great promise." A woman in the same situation might be seen

as "seriously delayed," and the articles not seen as either scholarly achievements or as a sign of potential.[34]

▸ Women administrators may find that efforts at a more collaborative, open-to-discussion leadership style are perceived as a sign of weak leadership, although the same efforts might be praised if undertaken by male administrators.

● *Women's abilities are more likely to be questioned, subjected to greater scrutiny and/or ignored than those of men.*

▸ Women may be viewed as having been hired or accepted as graduate students only because of affirmative action, the implication being that they are not as qualified as males. Similarly, women graduate students may be seen as having received fellowships or awards simply because they are "pretty."

▸ When a male becomes a department chair, he is likely to be congratulated on his achievement. In contrast, when a woman is promoted to a similar job, questions may be raised about her ability, such as "Won't this interfere with your kids' schedule?" or, "Didn't anyone else [i.e., men] in the department want the job?"[35] Although men may be kidded in a somewhat similar manner, the connotations are different. For men, the kidding implies "Aren't you *too good* to be an administrator?" For women, the message is: "Are you *good enough* to be an administrator?"[36]

▸ Chairs of search committees may continually abbreviate the accomplishments and potential of women candidates while elaborating on those of male candidates.[37]

The search committee lists for each applicant the courses each would be expected to teach if hired. For all of the male applicants, several courses were listed. For the women applicants, only one course was listed for each, although there was little difference in preparation and experience between the male and female candidates.

In general, the more vague the criteria, the more likely that women will be devalued.

▸ Women are often described in ways that imply that they are the exception to the "rule" that women are not as competent as men, such as a "qualified woman administrator" or "exceptional woman student." This type of comment is even more prevalent in the case of minorities.

▸ Women's publications and professional achievements may be ignored or resented while men are more likely to be congratulated on their achievements.

● *Women's conversations with other women may be viewed as unimportant, while men's conversations are seen as important discussions.* One woman, for example, reported that if she was having a conference with a female colleague in her office, her male chair would not hesitate to walk in, interrupt, tell jokes, and so on; however, if she was having a conference with a male colleague, he would look in the door, apologize for interrupting, and leave.[38]

● *Programs, courses, committees, and other activities concerning women may also be seen as less valuable than other similar activities.*

▸ Although there are an estimated 30,000 courses on women's studies and approximately 400 programs in the U.S. in which students can major or minor in women's studies, these courses and programs, as well as the integration of new scholarship on women into traditional courses, may be viewed as trivial and less important than other curricular issues, or inaccurately categorized as "political" or as "easy." This type of criticism often implies that women's perspectives, lives, and accomplishments are not worthy of scholarly study in and of themselves and are not relevant to a fuller understanding across the disciplines.

▸ Women researching women's issues often find their research discounted or regarded negatively in a tenure portfolio, as may minority women researching ethnicity and/or gender.

▸ Support for women's programs may be minimal; service on committees dealing with women's concerns may be viewed as less valuable than service on committees that "deal with the real work of the college."

▸ The issue of sexual harassment may be denied or seen as unimportant or threatening.

▸ Work with community organizations that serve women or address women's issues is often given little recognition, while men's community service with organizations such as Kiwanis is seen as valuable.[39]

▸ Women who raise concerns about climate issues are sometimes treated in a dismissive manner: "Can't you take a joke?" or "Why waste your energy on such a trivial matter?" or "That's just how old Joe is—he'll never change."[40]

● *Fields identified with women are often downgraded* as in the case of home economics, nursing, library science, and student affairs. Women administrators in these fields often find their experience disregarded, as when institutions routinely overlook the dean of nursing or home economics when they initiate a search for women who can become vice presidents, provosts, or other top administrators.[41]

Collegiality: Can a Woman Be "One of the Boys"?

. . . Yet the biggest obstacle women face [in advancement] is also the most intangible. Men . . . feel uncomfortable with women beside them.[42]

I was . . . the first full-time woman faculty member in my department. There really was difficulty among my male colleagues in associating with a woman as a colleague. I think they literally did not know how to talk to me, and as a consequence often just did not talk to me. They would ignore me. They would not invite me to have lunch with them, which was a very ordinary

experience there . . . they would walk past my office and ask the next person and never ask me. [Years later] I asked one of my colleagues why this was so. And he said, "You know what would happen if I asked you to lunch . . . People would talk."[43]

A key element of success in academe is collegiality. Administrators, faculty, and graduate students need to be able to talk with others about scholarly pursuits, professional opportunities, teaching, institutional politics and problems, and personal issues—especially when something goes wrong. Many of the difficulties campus women face spring from the general discomfort that many men still experience when dealing with women as professional peers and women's consequent exclusion from collegial interchange.

Each sex is often more comfortable with its own members, and the implications of this for women in academe are substantial.[44] The discomfort of some men may make it difficult for them to mentor or sponsor women, so that women may be at a distinct disadvantage in professional advancement.[45] Furthermore, because most administrators and faculty are men, men often have more knowledge about their institution and their field. They talk more to each other, often sharing information and advice. They know one another better than they know individual women, and most important, they trust each other. These informal networks—often called "old boys' networks"—function in the office, at meetings and conferences, at lunch, on golf courses, during pick-up basketball games, drinks after work, social evenings, in all-male clubs, and the like. Women may be "welcome," but are often not treated as full members of the group; that is, they rarely, if ever, become "insiders," whether the group consists of administrators, faculty, or graduate students.

Some men find it difficult to talk informally to women colleagues. Frequently, men "talk sports" as a way of establishing contact with other men. They may feel (often correctly) that women won't understand their sports talk and they are not sure how else to make light conversation. Some men are comfortable with women primarily when women play a role such as the "mascot" or "dutiful daughter" that makes women less than equal as colleagues. Some men unconsciously expect women to act maternally and/or may be comfortable with women only to the extent that women give approval, smiles, and verbal strokes. For similar reasons some men may have difficulty dealing with women who disagree with them or criticize their work. The same men, however, may handle other men's criticisms with little difficulty.

The marginality of women is similar to the marginality of minorities. The perception of women as "outsiders" results in their isolation from their peers. Often they are ignored and left out of the day-to-day interchanges and given subtle messages again and again that they do not belong.

The combination of invisibility symbolized by the 'Faculty Locker Room' [male] and the high visibility of THE WOMAN adds up to an environment that makes growth slow and difficult. If women are set apart we are deprived of the warmth and acceptance that encourages full human growth. When we exist as outsiders and are forced to justify our existence or defend our presence in the University, we cannot perform to our fullest.[46]

The following examples illustrate how women are isolated, ignored, and treated as outsiders:

- *Men talk less to women than to other men, and rarely include women in informal activities* either on or off campus, thus making it more difficult for women to keep informed about institutional, departmental, and professional matters, to share a sense of collegiality and be seen as "team players," or even to be known as individuals among their peers.
- *Sometimes men stop talking when a female colleague enters the faculty lounge or lunchroom, or ignore a woman's attempt to join a conversation,* thus reinforcing her sense of not belonging.
- *Women are often overlooked in numerous ways:*
  - Women's comments are often ignored at meetings and in other settings. There may be a pause when a woman speaks, after which the chair responds to the *previous* speaker, or returns to the topic as if no one had spoken.[47]

. . . [O]ne faculty member said she had recently been on a search committee where the two women candidates were treated "differently" from the four male candidates; the women were asked many factual questions about the[ir] university and were often interrupted during their responses. Male candidates, on the other hand, were allowed to ramble, to talk about nonacademic issues (sports, cars, real estate), to digress. They were encouraged to ask—rather than answer—questions and were rarely, if ever, interrupted. Because women are more likely to be grilled, they are more likely to make mistakes, to become tense or worn down earlier in the day, and to be perceived as not being "collegial" . . . because there is minimal, informal interaction. (A male, by the way, was hired.)[48]

  - Women report being overlooked when meetings are called (simply not being invited to attend). Additionally, men, but not women, may be routinely briefed informally prior to meetings. Though frequently unintentional, the former discounts women in a fairly straightforward fashion; the latter is more insidious, since women may waste time and energy gathering information about an issue that has already been decided. They then may attribute the failure to have their views considered

to lack of skill in personal communication and/or sense that their input was neither sought nor needed.

▸ Minutes of meetings sometimes omit women's comments and even neglect to record their presence.

▸ At times women are overlooked when institutional representatives to community and business groups are chosen, or when nominations for awards and grants are made, or when other opportunities for professional development arise.

▸ Women may not be introduced to other people.

● *Women tend to get less feedback than men, whether positive or negative*, almost as if what they do does not matter. Some men may find it difficult to be frank with women (perhaps out of fear that the women will "cry" or "get angry") or they may not know how to communicate evaluative information except in a tough "buddy" way with male colleagues. Women may therefore miss out on both praise and constructive criticism.

● *Men may forget or confuse the names of women colleagues more readily than those of male colleagues.*

● *Minority women and disabled women often face a lack of collegiality not only from men but from other women as well.* Thus, they may experience even more isolation than their female colleagues.

● *Women's collegiality with other women may be viewed with suspicion.*

▸ Women eating together at a faculty club are often jokingly asked, "What are you women plotting against today?" If two or more women serve on a committee they may be asked, "When are you women taking over?" Although such comments may be made humorously, they nonetheless reinforce and/or reflect the idea that women are outsiders and perhaps not to be trusted.

▸ Women collaborating on scholarly activities may be viewed as or kidded about being lesbians—as if they would not otherwise be interested in working together.

● *Sometimes men are collegial with women but only when no other men are present.* One woman faculty member stated: "Even worse, when they're in my office, they criticize sexist remarks that they laughed at during a committee meeting two hours earlier."[49]

The lack of acceptance, coupled with isolation, makes it difficult for many women to evaluate whether what happens to them is a result of their sex, their position, or their own behavior.

Attractiveness and Sexuality

Too often people may relate to women in terms of sexuality rather than as professionals or students. For example, considerable inappropriate attention may be given to women's appearance because our society puts a premium on women's sexual attractiveness:

● *Men and women are frequently treated quite differently on the basis of appearance.*

▸ Women are more likely to be judged by their attractiveness; men are more likely to be judged by their achievements. Sometimes the only praise a woman may ever receive from her colleagues will be comments about her appearance.

▸ A woman faculty member who is inattentive to dress may find that her work is presumed to be sloppy as well, while a man's lack of attention to appearance may be more likely to be viewed as indicating greater attention to his work.

▸ Women may be downgraded if they do not dress in a feminine style. They often report questions from colleagues and students such as "Why don't you wear a skirt?" along with queries about their sexual orientation. However, should they dress in too feminine a manner, they may be seen as lacking professional demeanor.

● *Women are often "sexualized"* as illustrated in the following examples:

▸ Assuming that women who collaborate with male peers are engaged in a romantic or sexual relationship.

▸ Describing a woman's sexual attributes in letters of recommendation or in search committees' evaluation of candidates. Weight and age may also be mentioned.[50]

▸ Describing women, including students, by a part of anatomy ("a piece of ass"), as a food ("cupcake," or "sweetie pie"), or with other terms that focus on sexuality ("she has great tits")—words that hardly promote a professional image. Moreover, these kinds of descriptions often make women uncomfortable—regardless of whether the words are aimed at them or are used to describe other women, or whether the comments are meant as compliments—because they shift the focus away from women's intellectual and administrative abilities as well as depersonalizing them.

Sexual Harassment[51]

Harassment on the basis of sex is a violation of Section 703 of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended. It is defined as:

> *Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment, (2) submission to or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual, or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.*
>
> —*Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex*, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission[52]

While it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal extensively with sexual harassment,[53] such harassment is a serious problem for a sizeable number of women on campus, despite laws and the increasing number of institutional policies which prohibit it. Unfortunately, a number of men may have difficulty distinguishing between friendship and sexuality and may misread the former as a sexual overture. Others may have difficulty seeing women in anything but a sexual role or simply abuse their power as a faculty member or administrator. Although sexual harassment can occur to women of all ages and regardless of marital status, single women, be they faculty, staff, or students, may be more prone to unwanted pressure for sexual activity.

Two percent of all undergraduate female students experience the more serious forms of harassment: threats or bribes from faculty or staff for sexual activity. Approximately 20-30 percent (more than a million) report some form of sexual harassment ranging from leers to sexual innuendos to unwanted touching, and including bribes and threats.[54] For graduate students and faculty, the figures may be even higher. A study at Harvard University found that 32 percent of the faculty women with tenure had experienced sexual harassment; for untenured women the figure was 49 percent.[55]

Unwanted sexual attention has a chilling effect on the learning and working climate. Even women who are not harassed may avoid certain classes or interaction with professors who have a reputation of being sexual harassers. What distinguishes sexual harassment from "ordinary flirting" is the element of power in the relationship. The professor or staff member is in a position where he* can help or harm those whom he harasses. Refusing sexual demands, especially from senior faculty members, may jeopardize a woman's academic career or employment. She cannot freely choose to say "yes" or "no" because unfair evaluations (or grades in the case of graduate students) may be given, and other perquisites withheld.[56] Ignoring sexual harassment may be mistakenly perceived as acquiesence and therefore may make it worse. Yet even if a woman takes a strong stand against it, her "no" may also be misinterpreted as a "yes." She may feel uncomfortable, embarrassed, and ashamed as if somehow she was responsible for the harassment; yet she may also be fearful of being seen as a "troublemaker" or as "unprofessional" if she reports it.[57]

Humor: Why Can't a Woman Take a Joke Like a Man?

At department parties at different institutions women have been given as presents objects in the shape of sexual parts—as a joke.

While humor is often used to lighten a subject or relax a group, humor also serves many other functions: it reinforces group solidarity, defines the outsider or deviant group, provides a way to discuss taboo subjects and express anxiety, anger, or resentment, especially about and to groups that are seen as marginal or threatening.[58] Sometimes jokes or humorous remarks that are demeaning to women may be told to women directly, or told in front of them, often without any awareness or concern that the "joke" may be offensive to women.

Minority women may be subject to even more "joking" remarks, especially about their sexuality, about preference given to minority women, and about how "they've got it made."

Sometimes a joke may be prefaced with "You girls probably won't like this joke," perhaps as a way of excusing one's self. However, such a comment makes it difficult for a woman and others to oppose the joke. It also communicates to women that the speaker does not care if they are offended.[59] When off-color jokes are told—jokes that typically portray women as sexual objects or that otherwise denigrate them—there will sometimes be a deliberate statement about not telling a specific "joke" because there are "ladies" present. Such a comment implies that women are not there as co-workers but in some other role, such as "ladies." Additionally, this sort of linguistic protection sets women apart; it is clear to them and to the rest of those present that the women are not part of the group.[60]

When women indicate their displeasure at joking remarks that express aggression toward individual women or toward women as a group, the rejoinder is often "Can't you take a joke?" or "Don't you have a sense of humor?"—remarks aimed at making the woman feel that *she* is at fault, rather than the person who offended her.

Other Forms of Chilly Behavior and Practices

Unlike official policies—which are usually spelled out and publicly articulated—informal traditions and practices are rarely formalized and often operate below the level of consciousness. They are typically based on the shared supposition that things should be done as they have been in the past—a past that assumed women's lower status and lesser competence, and denies the present reality of women in the workforce.

A sample of other customs, patterns, and practices that may also have a chilling effect on academic women follows:

- *Appointing women faculty, administrators, and trustees to the less powerful committees*, especially those that have little institution-wide or fiscal responsibility, perhaps because of an assumption that women are not as competent in these areas as men.
- *Providing women with fewer budgetary and other resources than men* of the same rank, or conversely, giving "token" women

*The vast majority of sexual harassers are male.

more in the way of visible resources, but less real power. Resources include items such as released time, laboratory space and equipment, secretarial support, funds for attending conferences, and general office perquisites.

- *Giving men priority access to typing and other office support.* In some instances, more support staff may be officially assigned to men; in other instances, support staff may be ostensibly equal and "shared," but staff will give priority to men's work. Women faculty at one institution reported that secretaries typed men's papers but returned women's manuscripts untyped with the suggestion that they finish the typing themselves.
- *Assigning women less desirable and less centrally located office space or only with other women* so that the women find themselves not only in more cramped quarters but also out of the mainstream of contacts and colleagues.
- *Using generically masculine language, which implicitly excludes women,* both in speaking and in printed materials.[61] The following statement on academic freedom from the faculty handbook of a prestigious midwestern college provides a clear example of this exclusion:

> *The . . . teacher is a citizen, a member of the learned profession, and an officer of an educational institution. When he speaks or writes as a citizen, he should be free from institutional censorship . . . As a man of learning . . . he should remember that the public may judge his profession, and his institution by his utterances.*[62]

- *Expecting women to represent the views of women in general.*
- *Generalizing about women from a negative experience,* such as "We once had a woman in this department who didn't work out so we are somewhat leery of having another one." (Would the same person say, "We once had a man in this department who didn't work out"?)
- *Discouraging individual women even in the face of obvious accomplishment.* One woman faculty member at a large southwestern university was told by her chair, "Now that you have tenure, I just don't see how you can go on publishing at the rate you've done in the past. I know when you go home you'll have to do all the laundry, cooking and cleaning, and take care of the kids. You can't possibly keep up."
- *Intentionally subverting women's authority, whether directly or through foot-dragging.* One woman administrator, for example, reports that a male subordinate would go over her head to a higher-level administrator and come back with "Bill and I have talked about this, and we've decided . . ." In another instance, when a woman chair attempted to institute a mandated faculty evaluation policy in her all-male department, she faced comments to the effect that the department "got along well enough without this kind of mothering," coupled with department members' refusal to take her directives seriously and "forgetting" to follow the procedures.[63]
- *Rules may be stretched for men but rigidly enforced for women.* A woman needing several weeks off for childbirth may be accommodated less than a man who needs back surgery.
- *Women who raise issues about women, whether related to curriculum, climate issues, or legal inequities, may find themselves and the substance of their complaint ridiculed, ignored, or otherwise disparaged.* Those who file formal charges may find themselves ostracized, censured, and upbraided, regardless of the merit of the complaint. Other women—not involved in the complaint—may also become the target of such behaviors.

Informal rules and practices often escape scrutiny, even when institutions are engaged in good faith efforts to create a better climate for women on campus. The importance of these unwritten rules should not be underestimated.

Men and Women's Communication Styles: Another Double-Bind[64]

> *. . . I've been in meetings with male colleagues when they literally don't hear me. I'll start to say something and a man will interrupt, and no one will even notice I've been talking.*[65]

> *As I see it, I'm damned if I do and damned if I don't. If I talk like a man when I'm at work, I [still] don't come across as assertive and "task-oriented." But if I talk like a lady . . . I'm just a displaced mother hen.*[66]

> *One of the greatest problems women faculty and students confront is how to be taken seriously in the daily life of colleges and universities. This problem has strong linguistic components, since speech characteristics are often made into and evaluated as symbols of the person . . . The valued patterns of speech in college and university settings are more often found among men than among women speakers.*[67]

Numerous researchers have noted that the ways in which men and women talk are often different, with men's communication styles often associated with professionalism and power. In contrast, women's communication styles are often equated with powerlessness.[68] The "masculine" styles of speaking and behavior include features such as:

- highly assertive speech;
- impersonal and abstract styles, with limited self-disclosure;
- competitive, "devil's advocate" interchanges;
- interruption of other speakers, especially women;
- control of the topic of conversation; and
- physical gestures that express comfortableness, dominance, and control, such as gesturing to emphasize comments, taking up more space, and nonreciprocal touching.

Moreover, in studies of formal groups containing men and women, what men say often carries more weight. A suggestion made by a man is more likely to be heard and responded to,

credited to him ("as Bill said"), developed in further discussion, and adopted by the group than when the same suggestion is made by a woman.[69]

In contrast, women's speech often includes features which are associated with those who have lower status and less power.[70] Among these patterns are:

- less assertive speech, characterized by features like false starts ("I think . . . I was wondering . . ."); high pitch; tag questions ("This is an excellent approach, don't you think?"); a questioning intonation when making a statement; and extensive use of qualifiers ("I believe that perhaps in approaching this topic . . .");
- more personal and "cooperative" styles, with greater self-disclosure;
- "inappropriate" smiling (such as smiling when making a statement or asking a question);
- gestures that express attentiveness or give encouragement to others (nodding and smiling when listening);[71] and
- averting eyes, especially when dealing with men and with those in positions of authority; at other times, making direct eye contact for longer periods than men do.

Just as women's accomplishments have often been devalued, women's communication styles are often valued less than men's. Thus, they may lead others on campus, including other women, to perceive women as less knowledgeable and competent, and their comments as less worthy of attention and response. Additionally, some of these communication behaviors may be misinterpreted. For example, male colleagues may see smiling, nodding, and longer periods of eye contact as flirtatious, or may interpret these behaviors as indicating agreement when they may only indicate attentiveness, thus setting the stage for future misunderstanding.[72] However, if women do not smile, they may be misperceived as being angry. Men may also speak to women differently than they speak with each other. They may be more formal and polite, sometimes more deliberate and long-winded.[73]

Women often feel invisible* because of the difficulty they frequently have in being acknowledged or heard in the first place. Some women on campus have reported that if they want to have a motion heard and passed they must find a male colleague to propose it for them.[74] Women faculty and administrators (as well as women students) often find their participation in meetings, seminars, and committees dampened by behaviors such as:

- *not being recognized* when they wish to make a contribution;
- *being interrupted*, especially in ways that introduce inappropriate personal or trivial topics, change the focus, or otherwise bring women's comments to a halt (such as interjecting comments on a woman's appearance when she is trying to make a point);
- *not being looked at when they speak and/or given subtle nonverbal signals of inattention or disapproval*, such as furrowing the brow or scowling;
- *having their comments ignored* while men's comments are acknowledged with some sort of direct positive or negative response;
- *having their suggestions or ideas ignored* when raised and then credited to men who raise the identical contributions in subsequent discussion; and
- *not being assigned a task* when work is being apportioned.

Men may tend to dominate meetings, often using them as an opportunity to showcase their knowledge and their own views on the issues at great length, something women rarely do.[75]

Should a Woman Talk Like a Man?

Some argue that women would do best to adopt a "masculine" style in order to achieve credibility. Others point out that a woman who does so may be perceived as "aggressive" rather than assertive because her way of talking and acting does not conform to "feminine" expectations: what a woman says in a "masculine" style may be rejected out-of-hand on that basis. Indeed the same behaviors seen as forceful in a man may be viewed negatively—perhaps even as hostile—when used by a woman. More important, some researchers are currently beginning to explore the possibility that some features of "women's speech" and behavior might have positive values in fostering a more equitable scholarly climate based more on the cooperative development of ideas than on "competition for the floor." Questioning intonation or tag questions, for example, might encourage elaboration of a comment by the next speaker, while some nonverbal behaviors more commonly found among women—such as nodding in agreement and "commenting" with "hmm hmm"—may help to reinforce speakers and to invite others to participate.

—Adapted from *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*

Minority Women on Campus: "An Endangered Species"

[Minority women] are simply "not retained *or tenured at the institutions which hire them as faculty or administrators. . . . Although initial opportunities have improved, retention opportunities have worsened considerably.*[76]

*Paradoxically, at other times women may be overly visible, especially when they are singled out for special attention in a manner related to being a woman, such as "Let's hear what the ladies think about this issue."

Black women faculty and administrators at one university were told to "keep Blacks in line" on anti-apartheid issues—as if it were their job to control other Blacks on campus in order to protect the institution from embarrassment or disruption.

Minority women in higher education frequently face "double discrimination": once for being female and once for being racially or ethnically different. Whites—both male and female—may be uncomfortable dealing with minority women and act on the basis of a variety of misassumptions. For example, intellectual competence and leadership ability, along with other primary qualities valued in academic life, are associated not only with males, but with *white* males. Hence the unintentionally derogatory designation "*qualified* minority woman"—implies that although most minority women are *not* qualified, *this person* is an exception to both her race and her sex.

Minority women are not often viewed as a group with specific concerns. Some programs aimed at recruiting minority faculty and students may focus primarily on minority men; similarly, programs aimed at helping women may overlook minority women.

Minority women are even more likely to be excluded from the informal and social aspects of their departments and institutions—sometimes by white women as well as white men. This isolation is increased further by the relatively small numbers (or complete absence) of other minority members whether as administrators, faculty, or graduate students—persons who can serve as role models, mentors, or peers. In part because of their small numbers, minority women are even more likely than white women to be overburdened, especially with advising minority students and with myriad committee assignments, thus limiting their time available for research and publishing.[77]

Women from some minority groups may be especially likely to be viewed in terms of their sexuality, which may lead to increased sexual harassment or to a "keeping of distance," by some male faculty and administrators. Stereotyped interpretations of minority women's behavior may also often interfere with collegiality: a Black woman's silence may be interpreted as "sullenness" but that of an American Indian or Hispanic woman as "natural passivity,"[78] e.g., "She's bright but can't talk." Similarly, academic advisors may underestimate the competence of minority women and may counsel them to lower their sights or misdirect them on the basis of stereotypes—steering Asian American women into mathematical and technical fields, and Hispanic women into the service and health professions. Moreover, minority women administrators frequently find themselves in dead-end "special" positions, such as director of minority affairs or affirmative action officer—positions that usually have no advancement track in the academic structure.

Minority women face numerous double binds. Some mention being caught between the need to fulfill their institutional responsibilities and accusations by minority students that they are not doing enough for members of their own group. (Some women faculty and administrators—minority and white—face similar demands from women on campus.) Others express concern about the lack of support they receive from minority men. One Black woman administrator explains, "I have noted that Black males here tend to go to the white man when they need something in my area of responsibility, even though I'm in charge. I get more respect from white males and females."[79] Thus minority women may be treated differentially on the basis of sex by members of their own ethnic group, and differentially on the basis of both sex and race by others.

The paradox of "underattention" and "overattention" experienced by women in general is often exacerbated in the case of minority women. On the one hand, their comments may be ignored in seminars or departmental meetings; on the other hand, they may be continually called upon to present the "minority view," "the woman's view," or "the minority woman's view" rather than their own views. Yet if their own research deals with issues concerning women and/or minorities, it may be seen as "not really scholarly" and consequently devalued in the promotion and tenure process.

Women in Administration: Colder At the Top*

Women administrators face the kinds of differential perception and treatment described throughout this paper, and additional ones as well. Some issues that present special challenges to women administrators are those pertaining to leadership, trust and rapport, isolation, visibility, lifestyle, advocacy role, and access.**

While the nature and severity of these problems varies with the type of institution, the particular field, and individual circumstances, certain common issues emerge.

- *Leadership.* Leadership—perhaps *the* primary quality sought in administrators, particularly at the highest levels—has generally been associated with men and with male styles of behavior. Since women have not been in leadership positions

*This section on women administrators was written by Donna Shavlik, Director of the Office of Women in Higher Education at the American Council on Education, and Judith G. Touchton, who is the Deputy Director.

**Conversely, some of these issues apply to women faculty as well.

in great numbers, the mental image of a leader held by most people is male. Many people have not had an opportunity to work with a woman leader and may experience anxiety or even fear at the prospect. It is so difficult for us to perceive women in leadership roles that when a man and woman enter a room, very often those present tend to assume that the man is the higher status person. Women administrators accompanied by a male are often mistaken for his support person or junior colleague. Thus, in part because of a pervasive assumption that leaders are men, and in part because of women's recent entry into the leadership arena and their still small numbers, women in administration may face not only doubt but disbelief about their professional status and authority—even when a woman is the chief executive officer.

- *Trust and rapport.* Trust and rapport are two qualities that are needed by colleagues working closely together; and they are crucial to administrative advancement beyond a certain level. Top administrators in the academy, as elsewhere, are chosen by those already in power because it is felt that they can be counted upon to uphold and advance the values of the institution. Additionally, we are all most comfortable and find it easiest to communicate with those most like ourselves. Whose behavior is more predictable than those of our own social group and our own sex—those with whom we have shared experiences, who can understand us without translation, who can be counted on when the going gets rough? In her discussion of the tendency to limit managerial jobs to those who are socially homogeneous, Rosabeth Kanter comments, "Social certainty, at least, [can] compensate for some other sources of uncertainty in the tasks of management."[80]
- *Isolation.* Women who accept the challenge of high administrative positions face numerous risks themselves. First, they are even fewer in number than women faculty, and thus may be even more isolated. On the average, colleges and universities nationwide employ only 1.1 senior woman (dean and above) per institution.[81] Clearly, many women administrators *feel* isolated because they *are*. They may perceive this isolation both in relation to men, who appear surrounded by male colleagues in similar or higher positions, and to women, whom they see in groups in other contexts. This "isolation at the top" has many consequences. It is even more difficult for a woman administrator to determine the degree to which the particular problems she faces are related to gender, and the degree to which they are "par for the course" for anyone holding her position. She may have even less access than women faculty to communication and feedback about the work she is doing, and to informal channels of information about institution-wide issues, problems, challenges, directions, and politics. Isolation may lead also to greater feelings of loneliness, to the persistent awareness of not "fitting in," to always being on guard, and to the fatigue that comes from always having to be one's own support system. These issues are especially pertinent for minority women, who often suffer extreme isolation because of their miniscule numbers in higher education.
- *Visibility.* Women administrators who are new in their positions (particularly when they are few in number) are more apt to be treated as tokens: overly visible, over-extended, sometimes given more responsibility than power, sometimes not really supported by those above them. Like tokens, they are treated at times as representatives of their class and at other times as exceptional performers, both of which work to their disadvantage. A woman administrator is rarely regarded simply as an individual; she is a *woman*. If she fails to measure up, many observers will regard this as proof that "a woman couldn't do the job." If, however, she succeeds, she is often seen as exceptional. For minority women, the issue of visibility is especially pertinent because visibility is heightened by race as well as by sex.
- *Lifestyle.* The social and "lifestyle" dimensions of an administrator's responsibilities play an increasingly important role as one moves up the organizational hierarchy. Entertaining colleagues and members of various constituent groups is often a key part of the job. Although there are, in fact, numerous ways of handling these social responsibilities, many people are most comfortable with the traditional model in higher education—the husband-wife team, with the husband as administrator and the wife as support person. Institutional administrators, board members, and others may be concerned about how a single woman will manage, how they will feel with a woman in that particular position, and/or how to treat a male spouse.[82]

Moreover, whenever hiring occurs in the faculty or the administration, there is an underlying assumption of heterosexuality. The only other socially acceptable option is invisibility of sexual preference. Although this is a problem for men as well as women with same-sex preference, the issue is more difficult for women because of the customary focus on women's personal and family life, and also because the majority of women administrators (in contrast to their male peers) are unmarried, thus leaving them more open to questions about sexual orientation.

- *Which role: advocate for women or guardian of the status quo?* The arrival of a new woman administrator on campus, or the rise of a woman through the ranks, stimulates both hope and fear on the part of various individuals and groups on campus concerning the expectations regarding her advocacy role. Will she assume an advocacy role or maintain the status quo? Women may hope she will be a strong advocate for women, while some men, in contrast, may worry that she will do so. She may encounter pressure and disappointment from other women on campus, including faculty, staff, and lower-level administrators who feel that women in top posts are not doing enough for them personally or for issues of concern to women on campus. These women may be unaware that women administrators are hampered by a variety of constraints. On the one hand, they may not have been given the authority to effect some of the very changes they have ostensibly been hired to bring about; for example, they may face criticism and sanctions if they

commit too many resources to women's issues or hire "too many women" (although men rarely face criticism for hiring "too many men"). They may thus find it more effective to work on behalf of other women behind the scenes, where such efforts are often invisible and unrecognized by those who benefit. On the other hand, some women administrators are able to address women's concerns directly and openly through their actions and policy recommendations and manage to both find support for and withstand opposition to doing so. Either way, however, they are often very much "on the line" in ways that most male administrators are not (a notable exception being male administrators who are members of minority groups).

- *Access.* To facilitate changes that will make institutions more hospitable to women, more women need to be in positions of power and influence. Access to top leadership positions is still a problem for women, in general, and for minority women, in particular. Until such positions are shared more equally by both sexes, the strengths, talents, and concerns of women will not receive the attention they deserve.

Women Faculty

Women faculty may face special difficulties in the following ways:

- *In some instances women are assigned heavier courseloads of introductory classes than men of the same rank.*[83] This pattern not only gives women less time to pursue research, but it may also give the message to them and others that their time is worth less than that of men and that they are not expected to put as much effort into original scholarship. Moreover, whatever success a woman might have in teaching these courses will count for less than had she taught upper division courses, which are perceived as more important.
- *Research dollars may not be as readily available to women as to men.* Because of greater informal contact with other men, male faculty may know more about potential funding sources and may not always pass this information on to women as readily. Devaluation of women's abilities also may be a factor.
- *Men are less likely to collaborate with women.* When they do, the women tend to be second authors nearly two-thirds of the time.[84] Others may assume that the "real" work was done by the male author or that the relationship was sexual rather than professional.
- *Women often find it more difficult to have their scholarly work taken seriously.* It may be devalued, trivialized, or ignored.
- *Women faculty may be rated more negatively than their male counterparts in student evaluations.* Sometimes, female students as well as male students may downgrade women professors.[85] Additionally, women may be devalued for having a participatory classroom style rather than the traditional lecture format.[86]
- *Male faculty often feel more collegial with male students than with their own female peers,* and may join together in a way that undermines women's authority and also defines women as outsiders:

> *I was in the hall reading the riot act to one of my students—a . . . basketball star—who had missed several exams. My chairman was walking by, came over, put his arm around my waist, smiled, and said to the student, "Isn't she cute? Don't you just L-O-V-E her?" They both laughed. It took a while to re-establish my professional credibility with this student.*[87]

- *Faculty raises are sometimes based on issues other than merit.* ("Why does she need a raise? Her husband is a full professor in the Engineering School.")
- *Tenure review committees often discredit research on women's concerns, publications in women's studies journals, achievements acknowledged by women's scientific organizations, or scholarship using methodology and paradigms more appropriate to the study of women.*[88]

Women Faculty and Male Students

> *I think female faculty have more trouble, not exactly being respected, but being taken seriously, especially by male students. Male students . . . seem to want to show you they're your equals, sometimes even your superiors.*[89]

> *I have had consistent problems from male students in the form of rudeness, condescension, unruliness, challenges to authority . . . I've been asked about my boyfriend, asked if I had my degree.*[90]

Women faculty often find that male students treat them differently than they treat male faculty. Some students seem to be uncomfortable and unsure of how to relate to professional women; others may put more pressure on women faculty than men for special treatment such as requests for extending a deadline, taking a test late, or help outside of class.

- *Some male students sexually tease women faculty or use sexual innuendos* as a way to avoid the issues when the faculty member raises problems, such as a late paper.[91]
- *Women faculty are sometimes called "honey" or by their first name or other inappropriate terms by male students.* Additionally, male students may make similar inappropriate comments to women faculty about their looks and clothing.
- *Although male students interrupt both male and female faculty more than female students, they interrupt female professors significantly more often than male professors.*[92]

Graduate and Professional Students

I had a man advisor. . . . there was only one woman who taught in the graduate school. . . . [T]he whole time I never did work with any women professors. . . . And I began to think, "Where do I fit in the system if there are no women in it, or very few?"[93]

[If women] do not become proteges of productive, established academicians, do not have resources to carry out their research and scholarly work, do not penetrate collegial networks where useful advice, advocacy and patronage are dispensed, and so forth, they may begin [their careers] with initial disadvantage and find that it grows with time.[94]

Why in the world would you want to be an engineer [doctor, etc.]?

As noted throughout this report, women graduate and professional students face many of the climate issues already identified. However, these concerns are particularly problematic because they occur at a time of transition between being a student and becoming a professional—a time when close, informal work with advisors and peers, access to scarce resources (such as fellowships, assistantships, lab assignments, and special project funds), and learning about one's profession are critical, and when family pressures may be severe.

Women students encounter an increasingly "male" climate the further they advance: there are fewer women faculty and the proportion of women students is often lower than at the undergraduate level. Moreover, they typically have less informal contact with male faculty and with male classmates, receive less encouragement, and are often left to work in isolation with little guidance or support. Despite the fact that they are often highly motivated and often begin graduate study with higher grade point averages than their male classmates, faculty often view women students as less dedicated and less promising.[95] For example, their actual or potential marital and/or parental status may be raised in admission interviews, and throughout the graduate experience, as in the following examples: One woman, applying to a top medical school, was asked if she was sexually active. Another woman, at another school, was asked what she would do if she became pregnant during training. (The question puts the woman in a no-win situation: if she says she would have the baby, she might not be admitted; if she says she would have an abortion, she might offend anyone on the committee who opposes abortion.) A question from another admissions interview was, "What will happen if you earn more than your husband?" In contrast, men are rarely asked questions about how their family life would be affected by their careers, or vice versa.

The doubt about women's future commitment to their careers (which ignores the fact that virtually all women will work for most of their adult lives, regardless of marriage and whether or not they take some time off for children) often translates into less help and encouragement or help given in begrudging fashion.

Students wanting to study or do research on a topic related to women often face discouragement or disparagement—as if the topic of "women" were not a serious area of study. Students at one school who tried to start a graduate women's organization found a male professor at the door writing down the names of students from his department.

Older women students may be viewed as inappropriate students.[96] An irregular work history because of time spent on child rearing or a need to study part-time may be seen as evidence of a lack of commitment. Some faculty may feel especially uncomfortable dealing with students their own age or older. No opportunities may exist for reduced loads for women due to pregnancy or child care responsibilities.

The doubt about commitment, coupled with a lack of encouragement and general devaluation, may explain in part why women graduate students have less self-confidence and express more doubt about their abilities than men,[97] and also receive fewer rewards than their male counterparts. They are more likely to be teaching assistants than research assistants and receive less financial support.[98]

Perhaps the most significant difference, however, is the relative lack of interaction that women students have with faculty (especially in some traditionally male fields).[99] Because members of each sex interact most comfortably with each other, the smaller number of women faculty translates into less contact with faculty for women students, whether it is mentoring or talking about one's research or career plans. Thus graduate and professional women students often experience a particularly damaging isolation at the very time they most need encouragement and support.

Women in Traditionally Male Fields

Every decision affecting a female scientist's career, from admission to graduate school to who gets tenure, is made by more senior scientists who are predominantly male and, in some fields, almost entirely male.[100]

Women students and professionals in traditionally male fields—the sciences, law, medicine, and technical areas—frequently face all of the barriers discussed earlier and additional ones as well. To the extent that women are even newer and fewer than in other areas, there may be an even greater likelihood that men will feel uncomfortable with them (often simply because they are unaccustomed to having women around as potential or actual colleagues).[101] There are some indications that overt sexist behavior is more prevalent in fields where

women as faculty and as students are few in number.[102] Examples of the kinds of difficulties women may face in such fields are:

- *Male students and faculty may indirectly or directly disparage women's abilities.* ("Everyone knows women are not good in spatial ability.")
- *Misperceptions based on stereotypes may be prevalent,* such as expecting women in medicine to be more "caring," and steering them to those areas of medicine where "caring" is perceived as being more important (as in pediatrics).
- *Faculty may be less willing to work with women students* because they see women as having less potential and/or because they may be uncomfortable with women.
- *Male peers may intentionally disrupt women's work,* as in the case of a woman whose laboratory equipment was repeatedly decalibrated.[103]
- *Many students, especially those in engineering, math, economics, and science, report difficulties with foreign male students and faculty* who come from cultures where women's role is very circumscribed. They often engage in numerous overt discriminatory behaviors such as sexual harassment, not calling on women students at all, not answering their questions, and openly ridiculing or disparaging women. Students complaining about such treatment often receive no support but are told instead to be "understanding" because that person comes from another culture.

Conclusion

The campus is often chilly for women who work and study there. It is chilly because good will alone is not enough. The lack of awareness, knowledge, and interest about women and who and what they are, about their concerns, as well as the lack of scholarly attention paid to the study of women, communicates to all women that they are outsiders. And because they are outsiders, the campus is a different and far less supportive environment for them than for their male colleagues and peers.

> *There is a gift that "outsiders" often bring to an institution. They are like the little boy in the Tale of the Emperor's New Clothes who was the only one who noticed that the emperor was naked. Women and minorities, precisely because they are outsiders, often bring a fresh point of view to the institution, seeing it with different eyes and coming up with new ideas. If we do not have a supportive environment for them, we waste talent and ultimately the academy is the loser.*[104]

The difficulties that women face in the academic community are not that different from those faced by other professional women in the world at large. If we do not solve them in academe, we will have little hope of solving them elsewhere.

Recommendations

> *It is not enough simply to recognize and to talk about the place of women on this campus. The task of integrating women into the University's definition will not get done automatically. We have hard work ahead. To ask the women to do the work simply compounds our struggles.*[105]

Making the life and mission of the college reflective of women as well as men requires work on everyone's part. However, changing the campus climate for women is difficult because many behaviors that make the campus chilly are often below the level of awareness of both men and women. Indeed, the task of fully integrating women into the professional life of colleges and universities is an ongoing challenge—a challenge that women cannot be expected to meet alone, without the awareness and support of all members of the academic community throughout the institution. As one woman faculty member writes:

> *An environment that promotes discussion of differential treatment of women should be encouraged. For example, my department chair treats me very differently from the way he does male members in the department. It is not easy for him to "make pals" with a woman. However, I believe he feels he is treating me exactly the same. I would like to talk with him, but know that this could mean the end of a relationship that's easy with him. Yet, if this kind of discussion were encouraged generally on campus, I could speak with the chair in that context without making a big deal out of it.*[106]

There are many steps that institutions can take to promote this kind of discussion and to evaluate and improve the professional climate for women. Numerous specific recommendations, guidelines for a campus workshop or other activity, and an institutional self-assessment checklist follow.

Policy Recommendations

- *Issue a policy statement that makes it clear that differential treatment of professional women on campus is not appropriate and will not be tolerated.* Include examples of specific kinds of behavior that constitute differential treatment. Distribute the statement to all members of the campus community: publish it in the student newspaper, the faculty bulletin and handbook, and materials distributed to all new employees at all levels.
- *Educate all members of the academic community—including board members, administrators, faculty, students, and staff—about professional climate issues;* the various forms differential treatment takes; and the institution's commitment to ensure equitable treatment. Use workshops, presentations, informal discussions, and written materials such as this paper and those listed in Resources.
- *Establish a permanent committee to explore and report on professional climate issues,* and to make campus-wide recommendations. Include women faculty, administrators, upper level students, and sympathetic men.
- *Designate a particular person (such as ombudsperson) or office to be responsible for institution-wide efforts to ensure an equitable professional*

climate, and provide that person direct access to top administrators, preferably the president. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and many other institutions do this.

- *Hire more women at all levels, including top administrative ranks, and promote more women into senior and tenured positions.*
- *Evaluate all cutbacks in staff and programs* to ensure that the burden does not fall disproportionately on women, including minority women.
- *Work to have more women on governing boards*; support their efforts to familiarize themselves with climate concerns as an integral part of their responsibility to the institution; and aid them in working with women administrators, faculty, and graduate students who have day-to-day knowledge about the issues facing professional women on campus. Be sure, however, that not only women are expected to take responsibility for climate concerns.[107]
- *Adopt a nonsexist language policy* to cover all written and verbal institutional communications. Numerous institutions such as the University of New Hampshire, and Montgomery College (MD) have done so.
- *Ensure that complaint procedures for students, faculty, and staff can accommodate subtle differential treatment as well as overt discrimination.* Emphasize establishing a confidential procedure for airing concerns and a means of providing informal feedback to those whose behavior is unprofessional. The procedure should have both formal and informal components. Several hundred institutions have devised procedures of this sort.
- *Publish an annual report on progress in regard to women on campus*, including the climate for women.

General Recommendations

- *Regularly gather data by sex, race, and age* covering areas such as salary, benefits, promotional analyses, special perquisites, awards, grants, courseload, advising load, committee assignments, and so on to determine if men and women at all ranks and within all units are treated equitably with regard to responsibilities and rewards. Gather anecdotal as well as statistical information, and include part-time and temporary faculty, visiting lecturers, and postdocs.
- *Ensure that all efforts to improve the climate for women recognize the special concerns of minority women.*
- *Survey and/or interview women and men faculty and administrators, as well as graduate and professional students, to assess the climate for professional women on campus and in the community.* Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Smith College (MA), University of New Hampshire, Dartmouth College (NH), and others have examined the climate for women.
- *Use offices and structures already in place to evaluate professional climate*, such as the faculty development program, the affirmative action office, committees or commissions on the status of women, women's studies coordinating committees, graduate student organizations, and similar units.
- *Sponsor formal and informal campus programs that address the professional climate for women.* Retreats, major faculty meetings, college-wide forums, lecture series, and department meetings might also be used to focus on professional climate issues. Texas Tech University, for example, focused on climate issues in its annual Conference on the Advancement of Women Faculty. Others have used less formal occasions. The College of St. Benedict and St. John's University (MN) sponsored on ongoing breakfast series called "Listening to Women's Voices." Volunteer panel participants wrote brief papers on an issue of concern, circulated papers to all faculty and staff, and discussed issues with interested persons over breakfast.
- *Evaluate campus media*, including the college catalogue, to ensure that women and men are identified similarly with regard to name and title, and that women and their activities are included in photographs and articles.
- *Build institutional supports for both women and men to help them balance professional and family responsibilities*, such as ample maternity and paternity leaves, child care services, flexibility in tenure time-frames to allow for starting a family, and so on.
- *Foster mentoring opportunities for women at all levels* (see "Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty" in Resources).
- *Bring women to campus as visiting scholars.* This will afford women in isolated departments an opportunity for professional interchange; give men on campus the chance to work with women who are established experts; and aid departments in identifying and hiring women. The University of Delaware provides departments with matching funds to bring noted women scholars to campus.[108]
- *Recognize women's accomplishments*, for example, by awarding honorary degrees to women, inviting women to be commencement speakers and colloquia chairs, and to give other public lectures and presentations.
- *Develop and distribute information about the professional climate for women in general and on your campus*, along with recommendations appropriate for adaptation by your institution.
- *Especially in institutions in isolated environments, be sensitive to the social needs of those professionals who do not fit the campus "norm,"* usually white and married, with the male's career taking precedence. Support the efforts of single, female and/or minority professionals to create supportive social groups within the community. Be flexible about their needs to adapt in other ways such as living some distance from campus to be nearer to a more congenial environment.

Recommendations For Department Chairs and Other Key Administrators

Administrators can play a critical role by providing leadership, legitimizing women's issues, and rewarding people who constructively handle women's (and minority) concerns. Administrators often set the tone for others to follow. For example, they can help department chairs recognize that they can play a key role in improving the professional climate for women within their departments. As one observer writes, "Academic chairpersons, as administrators and as leaders in their departments . . . can review departmental policies and practices to ensure that such do not discriminate; utilize an evaluation process that is both nonsexist and fair; influence department choices to include women and women's issues."[109] Several specific suggestions of the many that are possible follow. (Chairs will also want to read the recommendations specifically related to Search, Promotion, and Tenure Committees, page 19.)

- *Make the creation of an equitable professional climate for women a clear priority*, and reinforce it by public statements and personal behavior.
- *Include women in informal professional and social activities*, and demonstrate by your own behavior the appropriate treatment of women as colleagues.
- *Give personal and institutional support to the new scholarship on women* and those who are engaged in women's studies research such as public statements; budget for activities such as program development, research, and conferences; and released time.
- *Support formal and informal networks of women.* (For more information, see "Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty" in Resources.)

- *Periodically evaluate your unit to ensure that women and men are treated equitably* with regard to such items as courseloads, advising responsibilities, committee assignments, research and teaching assistants, and access to secretarial and other support services.
- *Avoid asking women to fulfill stereotypically "feminine" roles not in keeping with their professional status;* e.g., routinely asking women to act as secretary at meetings, or to take care of coffee or refreshments.
- *Make a particular effort to provide women with ongoing feedback*—both positive and negative—about their work. (Many women faculty find that the annual evaluation affords their only opportunity for a discussion of their performance.)
- *Seek out outstanding women at professional meetings* as a way of identifying potential candidates long before a search begins.
- *Make equitable treatment of women and minorities part of the formal reward structure.* For example, when evaluating performance, give commendations to individuals and extra positions to departments that excel in this area.

Recommendations Concerning Search, Promotion, and Tenure Committees

- *Devise strategies to actively seek potential candidates;* e.g., specifically asking colleagues to nominate women as well as men, building contacts with persons known to be interested in women's advancement and women's issues, such as women's caucuses in the various academic disciplines, women's advocacy offices in educational associations, and other women's networks.
- *Be as creative and resourceful in seeking women candidates as in seeking any other person perceived as hard to find or hard to get.*
- *Appoint a subcommittee to explore professional climate issues.*
- *Familiarize the committee with ways that women may be evaluated differently in search and evaluation processes.* For example, have committee members read and discuss resources such as this paper, *Seeing and Evaluating People*, and similar materials (see Resources).
- *Publicly remind committee members about these issues* by developing guidelines to ensure that candidates are treated fairly on the basis of sex. Guidelines might be based on questions such as:
  - Are all candidates asked roughly the same questions and given the same information?
  - Do all candidates meet with people at the same level?
  - Are men and women entertained in a similar manner and at the same level? For example, are they taken to similar kinds of restaurants?
  - Are late offers made more often to women than to men?
  - Are dissenting votes noted?

Guidelines have been developed by some institutions and professional organizations.
- *Be aware of differences in discussions about women's and men's qualifications and background, and take steps to remedy inequities.* Be aware of the pattern of focusing on the *potential* of male candidates and the *deficiencies* of female candidates. Ensure that balanced evaluations on all criteria are given.[110]
- *Examine criteria—including those that seem fair on their face—to ensure that they do not inadvertently discriminate against women, and that they are indeed related to the position.* Some institutions give substantial weight to particular kinds of experience or accomplishments from which women have been excluded, such as having been a Rhodes scholar in the days when women were not considered.
- *Devise a rating scale* for credentials or otherwise ensure that criteria used to evaluate credentials for various positions do not unconsciously downgrade women's accomplishments.[111]
- *Conduct workshops on hiring.* Kenyon College and Denison University (both of OH) have done this.
- *Evaluate plans for social events and other informal aspects of candidates'* campus visits to ensure that they are not inappropriately geared to married male applicants in ways that would be awkward for those who are neither married nor male. There may be issues which various kinds of "minority" candidates (female, single, handicapped, racial or ethnic) might wish to explore. Particularly if the hiring department is overwhelmingly white married males, an opportunity to meet others on campus who are not white married males should be offered.
- *Conduct "exit" interviews with minority and women faculty who are not hired* to evaluate whether female candidates have been treated differently in introductions, interviews, presentations and related settings. Similarly, conduct exit interviews with women who leave for other jobs or because they do not get tenure, in order to find out to what degree climate issues may have been involved.

Recommendations Concerning Meetings

See also "Recommendations for Individuals" for strategies on how to deal with interruptions, sexist comments, and similar communication problems that may occur in any setting, as well as "Recommendations for Department Chairs and Other Key Administrators" and other sections that involve meetings.

- *Be certain that women are notified of meetings,* that their presence and comments are appropriately included in the minutes, and that they are identified by title if titles are used to identify their male colleagues.
- *When chairing or participating in meetings, avoid behaviors (such as interrupting) that can inhibit women's participation,* and take positive steps (such as responding to or crediting women's comments, for example, "As Dean Smith pointed out . . .") to recognize and encourage women.
- *Avoid sexist language,* such as using the generic "he" ("The candidate we are seeking will show that *he* is qualified by . . ."), referring to women as "girls," and so on. Many institutions, such as the University of New Hampshire and Franklin and Marshall College (PA), have developed guides for both verbal and written communication (see Resources).
- *Make it clear that sexist humor and comments that intentionally disparage women either individually or as a group (e.g., "You can hire her if you want, but I'd rather have her body than her mind") will not be tolerated in meetings.*

Recommendations Concerning Special Groups of Women

- *Designate specific offices and staff members such as ombudspersons to be responsible for evaluating and reporting on climate concerns* of women graduate and professional students, minority women, lesbian women, and women in traditionally male fields to ensure that these groups are not overlooked in general efforts to improve climate.
- *Gather data—statistical and other—to evaluate the climate* for these groups.
- *Support the establishment of campus organizations for women from special groups,* for example, women postdocs, to counter the effects of isolation and to provide support and information.
- *Ensure that programs aimed at minorities make a special effort to focus on minority women.*

Recommendations Concerning Graduate Students

- *Educate students about the climate for women faculty and administrators* through campus presentations, student-faculty panels, workshops or discussions in residence halls, and so on. (These might include, for example, sharing perceptions about the situation on one's own campus, a discussion of studies in which students have rated articles differently on the basis of sex, or information from research about the impact of sex on teacher evaluation.)[112]
- *Increase students' awareness by incorporating into appropriate courses information about the differential perception and treatment of women in professional and other settings*, as well as the differential valuation of women's and men's communication styles. Such information could be included in courses across the disciplines, such as: Speech/Communications, English, Business, History, Linguistics, Psychology, Sociology, and Women's Studies. (Some departments and interdisciplinary programs might also offer separate courses.)
- *Have graduate students evaluate the department climate with the cooperation of the department.* Women students evaluated the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University (IL) on behalf of the graduate student organization there.
- *Encourage the development of graduate women's organizations.* The Claremont Colleges (CA) have a Graduate Women's Network.
- *When professional women are invited to campus as guest lecturers, have them meet with students specifically to discuss the climate barriers they may have faced and how they approached them.* Women students, especially, may benefit from learning how successful women deal with climate problems, balancing family and career, etc.
- *Provide training (or incorporate into ongoing orientation programs) for foreign-born faculty* as to what behavior is acceptable concerning women students.
- *Provide a mechanism whereby students can raise concerns and complaints about climate issues.*

Recommendations for Professional Development Programs

- *Include professional climate issues wherever appropriate in all workshops sponsored by the office*, and ensure that needs and concerns of women who are minorities, disabled, or members of other special population groups are also addressed.
- *Include professional climate issues and related institutional policies in orientation programs* for all new professionals at every level.
- *Develop specific workshops and other activities about professional climate* tailored for division heads, deans, department chairs, faculty, and others. Involve respected administrators and faculty members, and/or bring in outside consultants to help conduct sessions. (See Workshop Section, p. 21 for suggested approaches.)
- *Include information about the value of diverse teaching styles*—such as more participatory classroom approaches—in activities related to instructional and faculty development programs.
- *Compile written and audiovisual resources about the professional climate* and publicize their availability for use by groups and individuals on campus. (See Resources.)
- *Make audiotaping, videotaping and other such services available to those who wish to analyze their own verbal and nonverbal behavior* and/or to review the professional climate in settings such as department and committee meetings.

Recommendations For Professional Associations and Organizations, and For Consortia

- *Incorporate climate issues, including those concerning minority women, into all activities and programs*, such as speeches and sessions at annual and other meetings, publications, campus consultations, award programs, and so on. The Association of American Colleges, for example, has devoted several sessions at its annual meetings to climate issues.
- *Take special steps to ensure that climate issues for women and minority faculty and administrators are specifically included in training and educational programs for professional advancement.*
- *Sponsor administrative internships and other programs* to encourage and promote women for leadership roles. The American Council on Education's Office of Women in Higher Education, for example, sponsors a National Identification Program that brings together women and top male administrators in order to increase the visibility of women.
- *Identify and collaborate with other organizations and associations*, including the women's caucuses or committees within them, to evaluate and improve the professional climate for women.
- *Conduct a multi-institution survey on professional climate issues.* This might be done through a system-wide office, an association, or a consortium. The Great Lakes Colleges Association, for example, developed its own survey of female faculty experience.
- *Appoint a particular person or office within consortia, associations and systems to monitor the climate for women faculty and administrators.* The Great Lakes Colleges Association has done this through the office of its Women's Studies Coordinator.
- *Stimulate research on issues related to the professional climate for women and minorities* by calling for papers in this area.
- *Offer awards for innovative ideas to improve the professional climate for women on campus.*

Recommendations For Individual Women On Campus

Women cannot solve the general climate issues by their own individual behaviors in specific situations. A public problem needs policy and structural solutions. Nevertheless, women can sometimes alleviate their own discomfort by actively dealing with behaviors that create a chilly climate. Some of the following may be helpful:

- *When instances of differential treatment occur, write down what has happened* to help you identify kinds of differential treatment, determine patterns, and differentiate between what happens to you as an individual and what is based on gender. Additionally, your record will be useful should you wish to pursue the matter further.
- *When overtly sexist comments are made, there are a number of ways to respond*, e.g., ignore, stare down, or pretend to take the comments literally. For example, if asked, "Are you with those girls on the other side of the room?" say you don't understand, ask the person to repeat the question, and follow up with something like, "Oh, I thought you meant there were *children* here!" (Variations on this can sometimes be used *vis a vis* sexist jokes.) Often, saying you don't understand or even asking the person to repeat what was said will cause the speaker to become uncomfortable and to realize the inappropriateness of the comments.
- *If you are interrupted, continue talking and continue looking at the person to whom you are addressing your comments;* do not look at the

interruptor, or say something like, "Just a minute, please. I haven't finished my point."

- *Use humor. Mirror comments:* when a male professor at a seminar referred to a female professor as "a lovely lady" with whom he hated to disagree, she countered by referring to him as "a handsome gentleman," with whom she hated to disagree.
- *When asked to bake cookies for a meeting or to engage in other activities that grow out of stereotyped ideas about women's roles and may not be professionally appropriate, do not feel obligated to say yes.* For example, you could explain that you don't have time and suggest that *all* department members buy snacks for refreshments.
- *If you are asked to pick up an especially burdensome course or to undertake a task that typically goes unrewarded, recognize that refusing the request is one of your options.* Offer to work with others to explore ways to get the task done, such as rotating it.[113]
- *Claim your own accomplishments as a male colleague would his.* If you have published an article, done a successful piece of research, or been promoted, accept due praise rather than "politely" attributing your success to outside factors, such as luck. Make an effort to share the news with those who may play a role in your advancement.
- *Seek out informal contacts,* for example, by arriving early for meetings, and chatting informally with others before business begins. Invite men out to lunch. If you are worried about how others may view this overture, invite another woman or man to make it a threesome.[114]
- *Recognize features of your own speaking and nonverbal style that may be devalued in the higher education setting,* and decide whether or how you might wish to modify them. (You might, for example, ask the faculty development office to videotape a classrooom or public presentation.)
- *If a woman is unfairly criticized in front of you, speak up in her defense.* Otherwise, your agreement is likely to be presumed.[115]
- *Build alliances with other women through support groups and networks* as well as alliances with men and women in your department and division.
- *Give your colleagues, superiors, and others positive feedback for efforts to create an equitable professional climate.* For example, if your chair or vice president goes out of his or her way to include women in informal activities, to make women aware of professional development opportunities, to use nonsexist language, and to insist that overtly discriminatory behaviors not occur within his or her shop, tell the person that you recognize and appreciate the effort.
- *Join and work with groups that can address these issues.*
- *Pick your battles carefully.* It is neither possible nor wise to raise an issue about every instance of differential treatment. One woman, very much aware of myriad kinds of differential treatment that came her way, set a "limit" of dealing with one issue each week.

Recommendations For Individual Men On Campus

The following recommendations are just a few ways individuals can improve the professional climate on campus. Most of these suggestions can be used in a variety of settings—casual conversations, meetings, social occasions, and so on, although individuals need to determine what steps are appropriate and comfortable for them in each situation. Many of the recommendations may apply to both women and men—especially those preceded by an asterisk.

- **Take care not to evaluate the overall climate for women on your campus on the basis of your own behavior and intentions alone.* While you may be sensitive to subtle bias and take steps to avoid it, other colleagues may not share your level of awareness and concern.
- *Examine your own patterns to determine whether you inadvertently exclude women colleagues from informal activities.* For example: Do you know the names of both men and women colleagues? Do you go to lunch with both men and women? Have you included women colleagues in off-campus activities, such as professional conferences and social events? How much informal time do you spend with male colleagues and with female colleagues?
- **When writing letters of reference, making introductions, and so on, focus on job-related qualifications, use a similar vocabulary for describing men's and women's traits and accomplishments, and refer to women as you would to men* (whether by title, last name, or first name). Several disciplinary associations and other organizations have published guidelines on how to write (and read) letters of recommendation in order to minimize sex bias. (See, for example, "Sex Equality in the Hiring Process" listed in Resources.)
- *In professional settings, treat women colleagues just as you would treat male colleagues:* for instance, do not confuse social and professional etiquette.
- *Do not invade women's personal space by gestures* such as putting your arms around women. These gestures are often inappropriate in a professional setting, and typically connote dominance and control over the person touched. (In some situations, nonreciprocal touching may be considered sexual harassment.)
- **Avoid comments that perpetuate stereotypes about women as unsuited to professional roles,* e.g., "She was really *bitchy* because that report was late," as opposed to "He was really angry because that report was late."
- *Mentally test out whether your own language referring to women would be appropriate with men.* For example, few people would say, "John would be a lovely and charming addition to the department."
- *Assume the best when female colleagues work with others.* Too often interchanges between a male and female colleague are viewed as a sexual liaison, and collaboration between women is seen as "plotting" or an indication of lesbianism.
- **When women offer comments or suggestions, recognize them by responding in some way*—whether to elaborate, modify, or disagree. Any kind of response affords more validation than no response at all.
- *Actively express disapproval of sexist humor, sexual harassment, and other similar behaviors.* Let others know that you consider them inappropriate among colleagues in both formal and informal settings.
- **Make a special effort to help newly hired women faculty and administrators feel welcome.* For example, offer personal support, clue them in to likely problems, and suggest solutions.[116]

Planning a Campus Program or Workshop On the Professional Climate for Women*

I. Planning a Workshop

One way to use this paper is to develop a series of workshops for various campus groups (e.g., president's cabinet, council of deans, depatment chairs, members of individual departments) or a single large workshop for the entire campus, utilizing these and/or other small groups for maximum discussion and interaction. Several factors need to be considered in determining the best design for a particular campus:

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*by Donna Shavlik and Judith G. Touchton

• The commitment of the chief executive officer to implementing either design is always important, but it is essential in conducting a total campus program.
• If the campus is large, it may not be feasible to conduct one workshop including everyone.
• Working with one group at a time may build momentum for the program, especially if each group has a positive experience.

Whether or not the workshop is small or large, or held in a series of meetings or given in one day, the following will be of help in planning.

ESTABLISH A POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY. Creating a positive environment that helps people to read, hear, and understand climate issues is no easy task. Some ideas that may help:
• Assume that the institution is dedicated to having and producing the most competent persons it possibly can, and that part of being competent is being knowledgeable about the ways various groups, such as women, experience the campus.
• Convey that what is "good for women" also has the potential for improving the campus experience for men by enhancing the communication process, building a more collegial atmosphere, and contributing to the overall learning environment.
• Recognize that there are competing demands on everyone's time, but make the point that the project is a high priority because it contributes to the general welfare of the campus.
• Remember that people are always more receptive to new or somewhat controversial ideas if they are not made to feel incompetent or blamed for their ignorance. This paper on climate issues provides both data and examples of behavior that often cause women to perceive the environment as less supportive than men do, but it does not lay blame. The discussion at the workshop should follow the same principle.

EVALUATE CAMPUS POLITICS. Who carries the most weight in making things happen? Who seems to be the most receptive to and supportive of women's equal status, and who is most recalcitrant? What communication processes are the most effective, for example, directives from superiors, word-of-mouth, invitations followed by phone calls? What resources, both personnel and financial, are available, and how can they be utilized? What processes for implementing change have been most successful in the past?

ASK WHO NEEDS TO BE INVOLVED. Sometimes gathering a small but committed group just to read the paper is the best way to begin planning for change. If the campus seems ready for a program or workshop on the issues presented in the paper, then a decision needs to be made about where and how to begin, and whom to involve.

INVOLVE PARTICIPANTS PERSONALLY IN AS MANY OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES AS POSSIBLE. Ask and answer questions, visit with people about their concerns, accept where they currently are in their thinking, and help them to take the next step toward understanding.

DEVELOP THE PROGRAM.
• *Identify initial target group*: senior administrators, faculty, or both.
• *Decide nature of the event*: single workshop, series, or campus-wide program.
• *Plan logistics*: set appropriate time and place, select a setting conducive to good interaction, and identify the method of invitation that is most likely to get people to attend.
• *Design format for maximum interaction and discussion time* to deal with the issues and their relationship to the experiences of the participants. (Also see section on content.)
• *Select "faculty" for the event:* Are there people on campus who have the respect of the participants and who are conversant with the issues described in the paper? Would an outside expert be a useful catalyst in introducing the issues? Or, would some combination of the two approaches be best?
• *Decide what you want to come out of the workshop, and how you want to communicate that to participants:* What kinds of knowledge should people gain? What kind of recommendations or plan of action should come from the program? Goals should be as simple and as straightforward as possible, and should be both long-term and short-term. For example, a short-term goal would be to acquaint participants with the range of everyday behaviors that can create a chilly professional climate, and to discuss how these behaviors might be changed. A long-term goal might involve having the tenure and promotion committee look at its policies and procedures in light of the issues raised in the paper. A plan of action should address continuing the learning process regarding climate issues, carrying out studies about these issues, and/or implementing recommendations emanating from the workshop.

PLAN THE CONTENT.
A. **Identify core issues:**
• Access and advancement of women faculty, administrators, postdocs, and graduate students. How are women in each of these categories coping with institutional barriers and everyday encounters that prevent equal access and advancement;
• Special impact of the inequities with regard to minority status, sexual preference, and those with physical disabilities;
• Perceptions of women's competence. Here it is important to help people, men and women alike, understand that perceptions of competence are often influenced by factors other than merit and by traditions and customs that are not necessarily those that are best or most appropriate;
• Expanding concepts of acceptable roles for women. Recognizing the reluctance of groups to place women in leadership roles because "we're not ready for a woman yet" emphasizes the continuing need to address this issue;
• Negative impact of the chilly climate for women upon the entire institution, resulting in wasted talent, reduced productivity, less opportunity for the campus to be enhanced by new ideas, lack of appropriate role models for women and men students, and so on.

B. **Include national and institutional data:** National data are available on the numbers, remuneration and enrollment of women. These data should be juxtaposed to the data on your own campus and both sets of data should be presented in order to substantiate the nature and extent of the problem.

C. **Analyze structural barriers:** A systematic and careful analysis of the various structures, policies, and practices that prevent the full participation of women in the academy should be included and may begin with some of the sharing that takes place when covering the core issues.

D. **Create a plan of action to eliminate these barriers.**

E. **Explore new methods of learning and presentation:** Most programs, seminars, workshops, and conferences employ standard methods of teaching and learning. Since the material being dealt with in this paper is both difficult and controversial, creating some new ways

to present the information may prove fruitful. Case studies, quizzes, imaging, skits, role-playing, use of self-assessment tools, institutional evaluation instruments, and other already-prepared materials may provide alternatives for helping people understand and respond to the issues raised in the paper.

II. Workshop Outline

The following workshop outline was tested by a group of faculty and administrators from Washington, D.C., area colleges and universities, and executives from higher education associations in the spring of 1986. (Specific time and other logistical items are omitted from this outline in the interests of space, and because each campus or educational group will wish to plan these items according to their specific needs.)

WELCOME AND HOSPITALITY: Creating the right atmosphere for beginning the workshop sets the tone for what follows. Begin with an opportunity for participants to meet and greet each other on an informal basis, with food and drink. Anything that can be done to facilitate conversation and increase the comfort level should be done. Name tags, name tents to identify persons sitting at tables, and someone who knows most of the persons present and can handle introductions will help create a good learning atmosphere.

INTRODUCTION TO THE WORKSHOP: Planners should explain that the purpose of the workshop is to talk as frankly and openly as possible about reactions, experiences, and feelings about the paper and other materials distributed prior to the workshop in order to assess the climate for professional women on campus, and to design a plan for improving that climate where necessary. This central purpose should be prominent in the information sent out encouraging people to attend the workshop, but it also needs to be discussed at the beginning of the workshop in greater detail, with particular attention to some of the more commonly recognized issues on campus used as examples. After explaining the purpose, the presenter should go over the schedule for the day, and end with a statement about the possible outcomes for the program.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT: A major part of conveying the importance of working on climate issues is the active participation and involvement of the president or highest ranking college official in a particular division. Following the presentation of the purpose of the workshop, the president should make an opening statement about the institution's official commitment, as well as the leader's personal commitment to creating a healthy and productive environment for professionals and graduate students on campus. This commitment is one of the most critical elements for improving conditions for women and minority men on campus.

SESSION TO INCREASE INDIVIDUAL AWARENESS AND ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN: A major part of the workshop should concentrate on the unwitting and subtle but nevertheless invidious behaviors that women face on campus, and what individual people can do about changing their own and others' behavior. The trial workshop used a panel to provide a common experience for participants, short self-administered tests and small group discussions with carefully selected group leaders who were well-versed in climate issues.

Panelists and discussion leaders should be chosen not only for their expertise but also because of the esteem in which they are held by their colleagues. When they speak it is crucial that their opinions be respected. If an outside person might command greater authority, then the initial presentation could be made by such a person. The presentation needs to include information from the paper, other resources documenting the concerns of women, and as much information as possible about the particular campus. Small group discussions should follow the presentation, with facilitators chosen in advance and with specific questions for the group to address.

Following this session, there should be a meal or other social occasion where participants can exchange information and talk informally with colleagues about their own ideas and feelings regarding the information they have just received and thought about.

SESSION ON INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES, POLICIES, AND PRACTICES AFFECTING PROFESSIONAL WOMEN AND GRADUATE STUDENTS: This session should begin with a presentation of information from an assessment of the institution done by the planners prior to holding the workshop (see page xx for a sample institutional self-assessment). The presenter again should be someone whose credibility with the participants is high.

The content of this presentation should stress periodic evaluation of the institution to ensure that it is indeed fair and equitable. Anecdotes or empirical observations that illustrate the points made in the paper and are campus specific will also be helpful in aiding discussion and developing plans to improve inequities. In the subsequent small discussion groups, participants should be asked to suggest a list of priorities to include in the action plan.

SESSION ON ESTABLISHING PRIORITIES FOR INSTITUTIONAL ACTION: The last session should focus on what the institution needs to do next. Each small group should report its list of priorities, and the facilitator for this session should then help the total group translate these priorities into an action plan. (The action plan may have to be subsequently refined by a smaller group after the workshop, and then shared with the participants before being implemented.) The plan should contain both short-term and long-term goals and include timetables for all actions.

EVALUATION: Provide people with an opportunity to give their reactions to the workshop. Develop a short survey for participants and plan for participant discusison and/or discussion by planners after the workshop.

FOLLOW-UP ON THE PLAN OF ACTION: Whether or not anything changes as a result of the discussions held and decisions made depends in large measure on institutional follow-up. Planners need to decide possible follow-up activities.

Brief Institutional Self-Evaluation Questionnaire*

The following questionnaire highlights some of the areas institutions will want to evaluate in order to improve the climate for women faculty, administrators, and graduate and professional students. It can also be used in conjunction with workshops to improve the professional climate described on p. 21. Many of the recommendations listed in this paper might also be used for self-evaluation. A more detailed checklist, with questions geared to five separate categories

*by Donna Shavlik and Judith G. Touchton

including social-educational climate, is available in the *Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity For Postsecondary Institutions*, listed in the Resource section of this paper.

I. Institutional Information

Is information such as the following collected, disseminated, and reviewed on a regular basis? (All data should be collected by sex, race and ethnicity, e.g., Asian American women, Black women, Hispanic women, American Indian women, white women.)

- What is the number and percentage of women and men faculty by rank in each department and division? What are the promotion rates for women and men in each category?
- What is the number and percentage of women and men at the various administrative levels?
- What is the number and percentage of women trustees?
- What is the number and percentage of women and men students in each major and at each degree level?

II. Structural Issues

What structures are already in place that could support efforts to build a good climate for women on campus (including minority women, older women, and disabled women)? Examples: women's commission; women's studies program; women's center; research institute on women; Title IX officer; affirmative action office; ombudsperson; support in the office of the president, vice president, and provost; religious counselors; and women's athletics programs.

If there is a systems office or central administration above the president or chancellor, how does this office or administration provide encouragement and support for the development of special programs to enhance women's opportunities? What are some recent examples of such support?

What structures and policies at the governing board level allow, recognize, or require institutional policies and practices that foster women's full and equitable involvement in the institution? Do they exist on paper, in practice, or both? What are some examples?

Are there policies concerning issues such as sexual harassment and sexist language? Are there materials describing programs and services for women?

III. Other Assets

What other assets does the campus have with respect to addressing equity issues for women? Have there been any studies, workshops, or conferences dealing with climate issues? What concerns and complaints are being raised? Are there specific faculty or administrative leaders who are visibly concerned with issues of equity and opportunity for women? Which other women—and men—are willing to take leadership roles in dealing with these challenges? Is there recognition of the need to work informally as well in official coalitions and alliances with a wide variety of campus interest groups?

IV. Student Issues

Are attrition rates for graduate and professional students studied by sex, race, and ethnicity? If they vary, how does the institution respond?

Are there special efforts made (such as in recruiting, financial aid, part-time studies, and other programs) to accommodate older students? Is campus child care available?

Do programs aimed at minority students make special efforts to reach and serve minority women?

V. Faculty and Administrator Issues

How does the institution address a lack of women where it exists in specific departments and divisions? Is there a well-implemented plan?

Does the institution, its departments and divisions, review (by sex, race, and ethnicity) issues such as the following where inequities which may occur between men and women: salaries, teaching load, number of advisees, committee loads, promotion rates, allocation of space and equipment, travel money, and released time for conferences and institutes?

Are there provisions to help faculty and other staff who have parental responsibilities: Are there part-time tenure ladders? Is maternity leave and child rearing leave available?

VI. Curriculum Issues

Is the institution engaged in efforts to transform the curriculum to include the new scholarship on women? If not, what are the effective structures to encourage the process?

VII. Obstacles

What factors serve as obstacles to women's full and equitable participation, such as structure, policies, informal practices, etc.?

VIII. Other Major Factors

What other factors may be relevant, such as in-service training programs on climate issues for faculty and staff, mechanisms for airing concerns, and providing feedback about climate issues?

Selected List of Resources

Publications

American Council on Education. "Women in Academic Departments: Uneasy Roles, Complex Relationships." *The Department Advisor*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer 1985. "Sex in the Department." *The Department Advisor*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Spring 1986. Single issues of *The Department Advisor* are available for $8.00 from *The Department Advisor*, P.O. Box 12635, Denver, CO 80212.

American Council on Education (ACE), Office of Women in Higher Education. "Statement on Educational Diversity, Equality, and Quality." *Self-Regulation Initiatives: Guidelines for Colleges and Universities*, No. 9, December 1984. Available free from ACE, 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Please send a stamped, self-addressed envelope with your request.

American Council on Education (ACE) and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. *Deciding Who Shall Lead. Recommendations for Improving Presidential Searches*. 1986, 15 pages. Available for $3.00 (prepaid) from ACE, Office of Women in Higher Education, 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 829, Washington, DC 20036.

Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women (AAC/PSEW). The following publications are available from AAC/PSEW, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009. Bulk rates are generally available:

Bogart, Karen. *Toward Equity. An Action Manual for Women in Academe*. 1984, paperback, 260 pages. Available for $17.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Bogart, Karen, et al. *Institutional Self-Study Guide on Sex Equity for Postsecondary Institutions*. 1981, 5 pamphlets and user's guide, approximately 100 pages. Available for $10.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Ehrhart, Julie K. and Bernice R. Sandler. *Women in Traditionally Male Fields*. In press.

Hall, Roberta M. and Bernice R. Sandler. *Academic Mentoring for Women Students*

and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead. 1983, 16 pages. Available for $2.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Hall, Roberta M. with Bernice R. Sandler. *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* 1982, 22 pages. Available as part of a packet of materials on climate issues for $7.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW. (A related paper, *Selected Activities Using "The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?"* which describes campus projects, is available as part of the packet.)

Hall, Roberta M. and Bernice R. Sandler. *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?* 1984, 20 pages. Available as part of a packet of information about climate issues for $7.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Fisher-Thompson, Jeanne. *Re-entry Women and Graduate School*. 1980, 10 pages. Available as part of a packet of information about re-entry women (Re-entry Packet #2) for $5.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Ehrhart, Julie K. *Minority Women's Organizations and Programs*. Available as part of a packet of materials on minority women for $3.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Recommendations from "Liberal Education and the New Scholarship on Women." 1982, pages. Available for $1.00 (prepaid) from AAC/PSEW.

Benokraitis, Nijole V. and Joe R. Feagin. *Modern Sexism*. 1986, paperback, 187 pages. Available for $14.95 from Mail Order Sales, Prentice-Hall, 200 Old Tappan Rd., Old Tappan, NJ 07675.

Clark, Shirley M. and Mary Corcoran. "Perspectives on the Professional Socialization of Women Faculty: A Case of Accumulative Disadvantage?" *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Jan/Feb 1986) pp. 20-43.

Female graduate students and research staff in the Laboratory of Computer Science and the Artificial Intelligence Laboratory at MIT. "Barriers to Equality in Academia: Women in Computer Science at MIT." 1983, 44 pages. A limited amount of copies are available free by writing to Marilyn Pierce, Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, MIT, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Fox, Mary Frank, ed. *Scholarly Writing and Publishing: Issues, Problems and Solutions*. 1985, 170 pages. Available in paperback for $16.50 or hardcover for $35.50 from Westview Press, 5500 Central Ave., Boulder, CO 80301.

Fox, Mary Frank. "Women and Higher Education," *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, Jo Freeman, ed. 1984, 615 pages. Available for $21.95 from Mayfield Publishing Co., 285 Hamilton Ave, Palo Alto, CA 94301.

Geis, F.L., M.R. Carter, and D.J. Butler. *Seeing and Evaluating People*. 1982, paperback, 86 pages (text), $4.00; and 22 pages (summary pamphlet), $1.00. Available from the Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, 219 McDowell Hall, Newark, DE 19716.

Great Lakes College Association (GLCA), Women's Studies Program. "Survey of Female Faculty Experience" and "Work in Progress: Two GLCA Self-Studies on Equity for Women Faculty," 1985, 17 pages. Available for $1.00 (prepaid) from GLCA, 2929 Plymouth Road, Suite 207, Ann Arbor, MI 48105. Please make checks payable to GLCA Women's Studies.

Henley, Nancy. *Body Politics: Power, Sex and Nonverbal Communication*. 1977, paperback, 214 pages. Available for $3.95 (hardcover $10.95) from Prentice-Hall, Inc., Mail Order Sales Dept. 200 Old Tappan Rd., Old Tappan, NJ 07675.

International Association of Business Communicators (IABC). *Without Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication*. 1977, 200 pages. Available for $15.95 from IABC, 870 Market St., Suite 940, San Francisco, CA 94102.

Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 41, No. 4, 1985. Entire issue devoted to "Sex Discrimination in Academe." Available for $14.50 for single back issue or by subscription ($60.00 for institutions, $25.00 for individuals) from *Journal of Social Issues*, Plenum Publishing Corporation, 233 Spring St., New York, NY 10013.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. Basic Books, 1977. Available as part of a packet of information which includes the book, an audiocassette and a book summary and essay by Kanter for $34.00 by writing to Goodmeasure, Inc., 330 Broadway, P.O. Box 3004, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. *The Tale of O: On Being Different in an Organization*. 1980, paperback, 220 pages. Available for $4.95 from Harper and Row, Keystone Industrial Park, Scranton, PA 18512. A videotape (VHS or ¾") is also available for $380 (rental for 3 days), $680 (original tape, purchase) or $720 (revised edition, purchase) by writing to Goodmeasure, Inc., 330 Broadway, P.O. Box 3004, Cambridge, MA 02139.

Kramarae, Cheris, and Paula Treichler, eds. "Women and Organizational Communication," special double issue of *Women and Language*, Vol. 9, No. 1-2, Fall 1985. Available for $3.00 (prepaid) from *Women and Language* Subscriptions, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 244 Lincoln Hall, 702 South Wright St., Urbana, IL 61801. (Regular subscriptions are $7.00 per year.)

Leach, Alicia E. and Michele Aldrich. *Associations and Committees of or For Women in Science, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine*. 1984, 35 pages. Available for $1.00 from the Office of Opportunities in Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1333 H St., NW, 10th floor, Washington, DC 20005.

Mayo, Clara and Nancy M. Henley, eds. *Gender and Nonverbal Behavior*. 1981, hardback, 265 pages. Available for $31.00 from Springer-Verlag, 44 Hartz Way, Secaucus, NJ 07094. ISBN #0-387-90601-0.

Ramaley, Judith, ed. *Covert Discrimination and Women in the Sciences*. 1978. Westview Press, Boulder, CO. Out of print.

Rose, Suzanna, ed. *Career Guide for Women Scholars*. 1986, hardcover, 192 pages. Available for $16.95 from Springer Publishing Co., 536 Broadway, New York, NY 10012.

Shavlik, Donna and Judith G. Touchton. "Challenging the Assumptions of Leadership: Men and Women of the Academy." *New Directions for Higher Education, No. 22*. 1978, pp. 95-106. Single copies are available free by sending a stamped ($.39), self-addressed envelope to the Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, 1 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 829, Washington, DC 20036.

Thorne, Barrie, Cheris Kramarae and Nancy Henley, eds. *Language, Gender and Society*. 1983, paperback, 342 pages. Available for $12.75 from Harper and Row, Keystone Industrial Park, Scranton, PA 18512.

Tinsley, Adrian, Cynthia Secor, and Sheila Kaplan, eds. *Women in Higher Education Administration*. 1984, 96 pages. Available for $8.95 (prepaid) as Sourcebook HE45, New Directions for Higher Education Series, from Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 433 California St., San Francisco, CA 94104. Bulk rates are also available.

Women's Commission Committee on Faculty Retention. *Closing the Revolving Door: The Retention of Women in Higher Education*. President's Commission on the Status of Women, University of New Hampshire, 1981, 38 pages.

Zappert, Laraine T. and Kendyll Stansbury. "In the Pipeline: A Comparative Analysis of Men and Women in Graduate Programs in Science, Engineering and Medicine at Stanford University." 1984, 2 pages. Single copies are available free by writing News and Publications Service, Stanford University, Press Courtyard, Santa Teresa St., Stanford, CA 94305-2245.

Organizations

Association for Women in Science
Diana Tycer
2401 Virginia Ave., NW, Suite 303
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 833-1998

Association of Black Women in Higher Education
Jacqueline A. Kane
30 Limerick Dr. Albany, NY 12204
(518) 465-2146

Committee on the Career Advancement of Minorities and Women
Virginia Carter Smith, Vice President
Council for the Advancement and Support of Education (CASE)
11 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 328-5930

HERS-Mid-America
Cynthia Secor, Director
University of Denver
Colorado Women's College Campus
Denver, CO 80220
(303) 871-6866

Hispanic Women in Higher Education
Sylvia Castillo and Cecelia Preciado-Burciaga, Co-Chairs
Dean of Student Affairs
323 Old Union
Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
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National Identification Program (ACE/NIP)
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National Women's Studies Association
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National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors
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Office of Opportunities in Science
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Women's Committee
Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S.
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Women's Studies Program
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Ann Arbor, MI 48105

Notes

[1]Unless otherwise cited the data are drawn from Claire Etaugh, "Women Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education: Changes in Their Status Since 1972," *Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors*, Fall, 1984, pp. 21-25.

[2]"The Annual Report on the Economic Status of the Profession, 1985-86," *Academe*, Vol. 72, No. 2, March-April 1986, p. 10.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 15.

[4]National Center for Education Statistics, 1982, as reported in Lois Weis, "Progress But No Parity: Women in Higher Education," *Academe*, Vol. 71, No. 6, November/December, 1985 p. 30.

[5]Robert J. Menges and William H. Exum, "Barriers to the Advancement of Women and Minority Faculty," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 54, No. 2, March/April, 1983, p. 127.

[6]Myrtis Hall Mosley, "Black Women Administrators in Higher Education: An Endangered Species," *Ivy Leaf*, Spring 1982, p. 21, reprinted from *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1980.

[7]Women who hold postdoctoral fellowships or who are research associates, as well as other temporary faculty, generally face the same problems.

[8]Roberta M. Hall with Bernice R. Sandler, Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1982.

[9]Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1984.

[10]The concept of micro-inequities was developed by Mary P. Rowe in "The Saturn's Rings Phenomenon: Micro-Inequities and Unequal Opportunity in the American Economy," in Patricia Bourne and Velma Parness, eds., *Proceedings of the National Science Foundation's Conference on Women's Leadership and Authority*, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA, 1977.

[11]Unknown source.

[12]Rose Bird, California Supreme Court Justice, as quoted in the *Washington Post*, April 8, 1986, p. C-4.

[13]Annette Atkins, "The Camels are Coming, the Camels are Coming," *St. John's Magazine* (Collegeville, MN), Winter, 1983, p. 9.

[14]Letter from Mary P. Richards, Acting Associate Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of Tennessee, 1986.

[15]See, Florence Howe, Suzanne Howard and Mary Jo Boehm Strauss, eds., *Every Woman's Guide to Colleges and Universities*. (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press), 1982. The Guide rates institutions in terms of importance to women, such as the number of women faculty.

[16]"Survey of Female Faculty Experience," Great Lakes Colleges Association, 1983-84.

[17]For a discussion of these and related issues, including a research overview, see F.L. Geis, M.R. Carter, and D.J. Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*, Office of Women's Affairs, University of Delaware, Newark, DE, 1982.

[18]See, for example, Betty Lehan Harragan, "Beyond Etiquette," *Working Woman*, January, 1985, pp. 86-88.

[19]See, for example, Margaret-Mary Franz, "A Study of Letters of Recommendation" *Sociologists for Women in Society Network*, Vol. 13, No. 1, Jan. 1983.

[20]Linda L. Nielsen, "Alchemy in Academe: Coping Strategies for Female Faculty," *Handbook for Women Scholars*, Center for Women Scholars, San Francisco, CA, 1980, p. 9, as cited in Women's Commission Committee on Faculty Retention, *Closing the Revolving Door: The Retention of Women in Higher Education*, University of New Hampshire, 1981, p. 16.

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[22]See, for example, "Sexism in Letters of Recommendation: A Case for Consciouness Raising," *MLA Newsletter*, September, 1972. Also, see note 20.

[23]John B. Bennett and Madeline Green, "The Subtler Side of Sexism," *Educational Record*, Winter 1983, p. 60.

[24]Adapted from Bettina Huber, "How to Tell a Business Man From a Business Woman," *Washington Equal Times*, Vol. 5, March 1984.

[25]Nijole V. Benokraitis and Joe R. Feagin, *Modern Sexism, Blatent, Subtle and Covert Discrimination* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall), 1986, p. 66.

[26]Mary Ellen S. Capek, "The Last Word," *AGB Reports*, Nov./Dec. 1984, p. 47.

[27]For a detailed discussion, See Geis, Carter and Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*.

[28]Philip Goldberg, "Are Women Prejudiced Against Women?" *Trans-Action*, Vol. 5, 1968, pp. 28-30. Several more recent studies have confirmed Goldberg's findings. Among them are Michele A. Paludi and Lisa A. Strayer, "What's in an Author's Name? Differential Evaluations of Performance as a Function of Author's Name," *Sex Roles*, Vol. 12, Nos. 3/4, 1985, pp. 353-361; and Michele A. Paludi and William D. Bauer, "Goldberg Revisited: What's in an Author's Name," *Sex Roles*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1983, pp. 387-390.

[29]L.S. Fidell, "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," in R.K. Unger and F.L. Denmark, eds., *Woman: Dependent or Independent Variable*, Psychological Dimensions, NY, 1975 as cited in Geis, Carter and Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*, p. 22.

[30]For an overview of research in this area see Geis, Carter and Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People* and Veronica F. Nieva and Barbara Gutek, "Sex Effects of Evaluation," *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1980, pp. 267-276.

[31]For an overview of research in this area, see Constantine Safilios-Rothschild, *Sex Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination: A Synthesis and Overview of Literature* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Education), October 1979, pp. 38-41; and Irene H. Frieze, "Women's Attributions for and Causal Attributions of Success and Failure," in Martha T. Mednick, Sandra S. Tangri and Lois W. Hoffman, eds., *Women and Achievement: Social and Motivational Analyses* (Washington, DC: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation), 1975, pp. 158-171.

[32]Mae R. Carter, "Improving the Learning Environment for Women Students," panel on climate issues, Association of American Colleges Annual Meeting, "Quality and Coherence in Undergraduate Education," Washington, DC, 1985.

[33]Conversation with Donna Shavlik, Director, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, Washington, DC, March, 1986.

[34]Geis, Carter, and Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*, p. 54.

[35]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 30.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 31.

[37]Carter (see note 32).

[38]Richard D. Rieke, "Women Faculty Members in a World of Male Administrators," *ACA Bulletin*, No. 41, August, 1982, p. 65.

[39]Jane F. Eatley, "Rethinking Our Place: The Status of Women in Higher Education," presentation, "Vital Issues: The Future of Affirmative Action and Desegregation in Higher Education," Clemson University Regional Conference, Clemson, SC, Sept. 18, 1985, p. 5.

[40]*Ibid.*

[41]See, for example, Phyllis B. Kritek, "Women's Work and Academic Sexism," *Educational Record*, Summer, 1984, pp. 56-57.

[42]Carol Hymowitz and Timothy D. Schellhardt, "The Glass Ceiling," *Wall Street Journal Special Report: The Corporate Woman*, March 24, 1986, Sec. 4, p. 1.

[43]Shirley M. Clark and Mary Corcoran, "Perspectives on the Professional Socialization of Women Faculty: A Case of Accumulative Disadvantage?" *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 57, No. 1, Jan./Feb. 1986, pp. 36-37.

[44]Co-authors are more likely to be of the same sex so that women in a predominantly male field may have difficulty finding a collaborator. See M.A. Ferber and M. Teiman, "Are Women Economists at a Disadvantage in Publishing Journal Articles?," *Eastern Economic Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 324, pp. 189-194.

[45]For a discussion of this and related issues, see Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look at an Old Way to Get Ahead*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, 1983.

[46]Atkins, "The Camels Are Coming," p. 9.

[47]D. Smith, "An Analysis of Ideological Structure and How Women are Excluded: Considerations for Academic Women," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 12, pp. 353-369.

[48]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 76.

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 112.

[50]See, for example, Harold R. Holcomb, "Unattractive Need Not Apply: Sexism Among the Professors," *Harpers*, Vol. 273, No. 1634, July 1986, pp. 73-75.

[51]Some persons refer to *all* forms of harassment that causes a hostile environment for women as sexual harassment, even if the harassment (such as demeaning comments about women) did not involve sexuality. Others restrict the term "sexual harassment" to the legal definition which focuses on unwanted sexual advances or attention.

[52]*Federal Register*, Vol. 45, No. 219, November 10, 1980, pp. 74676-74677.

[53]See, for example, packet of papers on sexual harassment published by the Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, listed in the Resource section.

[54]Noel Epstein, "When Professors Swap Good Grades for Sex," The *Washington Post*, Sept. 6, 1981, Section C, p. 1. The campus surveys in the Project's files confirm these data.

[55]"Harvard Releases Sexual Harassment Report," *On Campus With Women*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, DC, Vol. 13, No. 3, Winter, 1984, p. 1.

[56]In a study of women psychology graduates, 17 percent had sexual contact with a professor. At the time of the relationship, 28 percent felt they had been coerced; at the time of the survey over half felt they had been forced, whether subtly or overtly. An additional 30 percent of those surveyed reported other forms of sexual harassment; half of these women said that professors retaliated against them when their advances were refused. Sexual contact increased from five percent among those women who graduated 20 or more years ago to 20 percent of those who graduated since the mid-1970s. Robert D. Glaser and Joseph S. Thorpe, "Unethical Intimacy, A Survey of Sexual Contact and Advances Between Psychology Educators and Female Graduate Students," *American Psychologist*, Vol. 41, No. 1, Jan. 1986, pp. 43-51.

[57]For example, one fourth-year graduate student reported sexual harassment by her advisor who later received a formal reprimand in his file. The department chair wrote her a three-page scathing accusatory letter which was widely circulated. Subsequently no faculty member in her department would agree to serve on her committee and she was forced to transfer to another school and begin her work again. Students who talked with her were openly harassed by faculty.

[58]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 74.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 75.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 28.

[61]There is now a sizeable body of research demonstrating that the supposedly inclusive words "he," "men," and "man" are generally not perceived generically to include both men and women but are indeed perceived as pertaining to men only. See, for example, Casey Miller and Kate Swift, *Words and Women* (New York: Anchor Press), 1986.

[62]As quoted in Earley, "Rethinking Our Place," p. 11.

[63]Bennett and Green, "The Subtler Side of Sexism," p. 59.

[64]Portions of this section appeared in *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*

[65]As quoted in Norma Peterson, "How Do Women Manage?" *Executive Female*, Vol. 7, No. 4, July/August 1984, p. 45.

[66]As quoted in Carol Berry, "How to Have Clout at Work and Not Talk Like a Man," *Savvy*, Feb. 1986, p. 20.

[67]Barrie Thorne, "Claiming Verbal Space: Women's Speech and Language in College Classrooms," paper presented at the Research Conference on Educational Environments and the Undergraduate Woman, Wellesley College, Sept., 1979, p. 5.

[68]For an overview and more detailed discussion of these issues, see Roberta M. Hall with Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1982, pp. 9-10; Robin Lakoff, *Language and Women's Place* (New York: Harper and Row), 1975; Barrie Thorne, Cheris Kramarae and Nancy Henley, eds., *Language, Gender and Society* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers), 1983; Nancy M. Henley, *Body Politics* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.), 1977; C. Mayo and N.M. Henley, eds., *Gender and Nonverbal Behavior* (New York: Springer-Verlag), 1981; and Mary Ritchie Key, *Male/Female Language* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press), 1975. Some more recent research focuses on the similarities in, as well as the differences between, men's and women's communication styles, as well as ways to balance masculine and feminine styles in the higher education setting. See, for example, Paula A. Treichler and Cheris Kramarae, "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower," *Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 2, Spring, 1983, p. 122.

[69]See, for example, Carol Wolman and Hal Frank, "The Solo Woman in a Professional Peer Group," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, Vol. 45, Jan. 1975, pp. 164-71. For an overview of related research, see Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, *Sex Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination*, pp. 21-25.

[70]These features of "women's speech" are more commonly found among white, middle-class women who have customarily been the focus of research. Women from other cultural groups sometimes exhibit different and/or more assertive patterns. See, for example, Marsha Houston Stanback, "Language and Black Woman's Place: Evidence from the Black Middle Class," in Paula A. Treichler, Cheris Kramarae and Beth Stafford, eds., *For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press), 1985, pp. 177-193.

[71]Women sometimes respond more positively to a man than to another woman, especially if he says something supportive about women's issues. Even in committees with a majority of females, men may be allowed or encouraged to dominate discussion or at least to have the "last word."

[72]See, for example, Daniel N. Maltz and Ruth A. Borker, "A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication," in John Gumperz, ed., *Language and Social Identity*, Cambridge University Press, 1982, pp. 196-215; and Carol Berry, "How to Have Clout at Work and Not Talk Like a Man," pp. 20-21.

[73]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 28.

[74]Rieke, "Women Faculty Members in a World of Male Administrators," p. 67.

[75]Marjorie Swacker, "Women's Verbal Behavior at Learned and Professional Conferences," in Betty Lou Dubois and Isabel Crouch, eds., *The Sociology of the Languages of American Women* (San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press), 1976, p. 156.

[76]Mosley, "Black Women Administrators in Higher Education: An Endangered Species," p. 22.

[77]See, for example, Cecilia Preciado-Burciaga, Assistant Provost, Stanford University, as quoted in "Affirmative Action Should Not Sacrifice Merit, Rodriguez Says" Stanford News Release, May 14, 1984.

[78]For further discussion, see *The Classroom Climate*, p. 12.

[79]Mosley, "Black Women Administrators in Higher Education: An Endangered Species," p. 24.

[80]Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, (Indiana: Basic Books), 1977, p. 58.

[81]Office of Women in Higher Education, *Senior Women Administrators in Higher Education, A Decade of Change, 1975-1983*, Preliminary Report, Nov. 14, 1984, p. 3.

[82]For discussion and recommendations on dealing with these issues, see *Deciding Who Shall Lead*, American Council on Education and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, Washington, DC, 1986.

[83]Menges and Exum, "Barriers to the Advancement of Women and Minority Faculty," p. 132.

[84]J.R. Wilkie and I.L. Allen, "Women Sociologists and Co-Authorship with Men," *American Sociologist*, Vol. 10, 1975, pp. 19-24 as quoted in Martin J. Finkelstein, "The Status of Academic Women: An Assessment of Five Competing Explanations," *The Review of Higher Education*, Vol. 7, No. 3, Spring, 1984, p. 230.

[85]See, for example, Susan A. Basow and Nancy T. Silberg, "Student Evaluations of College Professors: Are Males Prejudiced Against Women Professors?" *Journal of Educational Psychology*, under revision, 1986.

[86]See, for example, Wagner Thielens, Jr., "Women Professors and Lecturing," paper presented at the International Conference on Improving University Teaching, July, 1984.

[87]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 77.

[88]Phyllis Kritek, "Women's Work and Academic Sexism," *Educational Record*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Summer, 1984, pp. 56-57.

[89]Survey of Female Faculty Experience, Great Lakes Colleges Association, 1983-84.

[90]*Ibid.*

[91]Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 75.

[92]Virginia R. Brooks, "Sex Differences in Student Dominance Behavior in Female and Male Professors' Classrooms," *Sex Roles*, Vol. 8, 1982, p. 688 as quoted in Benokraitis and Feagin, *Modern Sexism*, p. 90.

[93]As quoted in Clark and Corcoran, *Perspectives*, p. 31.

[94]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[95]Helen M. Berg and Marianne A. Ferber, "Men and Women Graduate Students: Who Succeeds and Why?" *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 54, No. 6, Nov./Dec., 1983, p. 631.

[96]See, for example, Jeanne Fisher-Thompson, *Re-entry Women and Graduate School*,

Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, Washington, DC, 1980.

[97]Berg and Ferber, "Men and Women Graduate Students," p. 635.

[98]L.C. Solomon, *Male and Female Graduate Students: The Question of Equal Opportunity*, (New York: Praeger), *Special Studies in U.S. Economic, Social and Political Issues*, 1476, as quoted in Berg and Ferber, "Men and Women Graduate Students," p. 631.

[99]Berg and Ferber, "Men and Women Graduate Students," p. 638.

[100]Sheila M. Pfafflin, "Women in Science and Technology," *American Psychologist*, Oct. 1984, p. 1185.

[101]See, for example, Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1982.

[102]See, for example, Hall with Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?*, pp. 11-12.

[103]Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?*, Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1984, p. 8.

[104]Conversation with Donna Shavlik, Director, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, 1984.

[105]Atkins, "The Camels Are Coming," p. 9.

[106]Response to Survey of Female Faculty Experience conducted by the Great Lakes Colleges Association, Women's Studies Program, 1984-85.

[107]For further discussion, see Jean E. Howard, "Women Trustees and Educational Equity," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 12, no. 1, Spring, 1984, pp. 12-13.

[108]Karen Bogart, *Toward Equity: An Action Manual for Women in Academe*, Hood College, MD, 1984, p. 181.

[109]Lois Vander Waerdt, "Women in Academic Departments: Uneasy Roles, Complex Relationships," *The Department Advisor*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Summer, 1985, p. 2.

[110]*Ibid.*

[111]For further discussion, see Geis, Carter and Butler, *Research on Seeing and Evaluating People*, p. 76.

[112]Based on campus recommendations elicited by Survey of Female Faculty Experience, Great Lakes Colleges Association, Women's Studies Program, 1984-85.

[113]Kathryn Quina, "Lessons From My First Job," in Suzanna Rose, ed., *Career Guide For Women Scholars* (New York: Springer Publishing Co.), prepublication draft, p. 127.

[114]Martha E. Banks, "Black Women Clinicians: Survival Against the Odds," *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[115]Kayla Stroup, President, Murray State University, in presentation at Conference on the Advancement of Women Faculty Members, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX, Oct. 19, 1985.

[116]*Ibid.*

INFORMATION ON STUDENT CLIMATE ISSUES AVAILABLE

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